

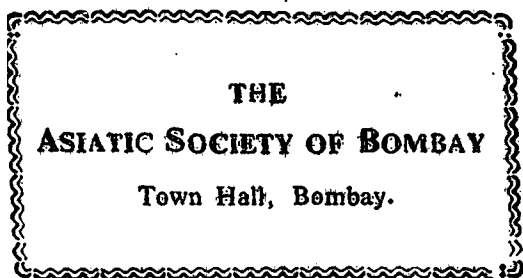
CX

g

11



00108379



THE SECRET DOCUMENTS

OF THE

SECOND EMPIRE.



00108379

THE
SECRET DOCUMENTS
OF THE
SECOND EMPIRE,
FOUND IN THE
TUILERIES AND MINISTRIES IN PARIS
AFTER THE 108379.
FLIGHT OF THE EMPRESS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY

T. CURRY.

LONDON :

W. TWEEDIE, 337, STRAND, W.C.

1871.

E R R A T U M.

**Paragraph 50 in page 154, should have been placed on
page 190.**

P R E F A C E.

AFTER the flight of the Empress of the French from the Tuileries, and the formation of a Republic on September 4th of last year, the Emperor's private papers and correspondence fell into the hands of the Government of the National Defence. A commission was immediately appointed to examine these documents. The members of the Commission were :—

MM. de Kératry, *Prefet de Police, President.*

„ André Lavertujon, *Vice-President.*

„ Estancelin.

„ Gagneur.

„ André Cochut.

„ Jules Claretie, *Secretary.*

The Commission undertook the responsibility of publishing some of the documents which came into their possession, and, as might have been expected, the publication has produced a profound impression throughout France. Mr. T. Curry, whose connection with journalism is well known both in Paris and

London, has undertaken the task of translating these papers into English. Throwing as they do a strong light upon the history of the period to which they refer, they will be read in Great Britain with an interest second only to that which has been manifested in France. They are published as issued in Paris, without note or comment, beyond the explanations which the Commission appended to the original publication.

ORIGINAL PREFACE OF THE COMMISSION.

In their preface the Commission state that "the documents found at the Tuileries will possess an essentially official and impersonal character. The work has been undertaken exclusively in the interest of the truth. The Commission does not judge, it simply draws up an inventory ; it does not occupy itself with polemics, it performs with impartiality a work of history. The documents found and copied under the superintendence of the director of the operation, and of the Secretary of the Commission, are examined by the President, and the work is submitted to the control of the Government of National Defence. After the publication, the originals of the documents, carefully catalogued, will be deposited in the national archives."

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
PREFACE	vi.
ORIGINAL PREFACE OF THE COMMISSION	vii.
I.—DUCROT AND TROCHU ANTICIPATE WAR.	
Copy of a letter from General Ducrot to General Trochu—Extract of a letter from General Ducrot to General Trochu—Letter from General Ducrot to General Froissard—Letter from General Ducrot to General Froissard on the preparations of Prussia in 1869	1
II.—PERSIGNY TO THE EMPEROR.	
Objects to reduction of army, and wishes to consult him on a delicate subject—He foresees the fall of the Empire—Extract of a letter from M. de Persigny	10
III.—FROM THE QUEEN OF HOLLAND TO M. D'ANDRÉ.	
Warning	14
IV.—THE EMPEROR TO M. CONTI.	
Re-annexation of Belgium	16
V.—THE EMPRESS FROM EGYPT.	
Letter from the Empress to the Emperor—Voyage in Egypt ...	18
VI.—CASSAGNAC TO CONTI.	
The country people and the Plebiscite	20
VII.—DESPATCHES OF THE LAST DAYS OF THE EMPIRE.	
The Empress to the Princess Mathilde, St. Gratien—To H.M. the Emperor, Camp of Châlons—Marshal MacMahon to the Minister of War—The Minister of War to Marshal MacMahon—The Minister of War to Marshal MacMahon, Camp of Châlons—The Minister of War to the Emperor at the Camp of Châlons—The Inspectors delegated by the Staff to Marshal MacMahon—The General Commanding at Verdun to the Emperor, at the Camp of Châlons; and to the Minister of War, Paris—Marshal	

	Page
Bazaine to the Emperor, Camp of Châlons—The Minister of War to the Emperor, at Rheims—The Emperor to the Minister of War—Marshal Bazaine to the Emperor—Marshal Bazaine to the Minister of War—Marshal MacMahon to the Minister of War, Paris—Marshal MacMahon to the General in command at Verdun; to the chief in command at Montmédy; and to the Mayor of Longwyon—MacMahon to Bazaine—The Minister of War to Marshal MacMahon—The Minister of War to the Emperor—The Emperor to the Minister of War, Paris—Marshal MacMahon to the Minister of War—Extracts from despatches dated September 4th—Replies—The last despatch sent from the Tuileries on the 4th of September—The Campaign of 1870—The Emperor's Household—Service of the Grand Marshal ...	22
VIII.—THE FRENCH EMBASSY AT ST. PETERSBURG—1870.	
Private Letters from M. de Verdière, attaché to General Fleury ...	41
IX.—TODTLEBEN ON THE FORTIFICATIONS OF PARIS; AND RUSSIAN OFFICERS IN FRANCE.	
The Fortifications of Paris judged by General Todtleben ...	46
X.—COUNCIL OF REGENCY AND APPOINTMENT OF SENATORS.	
Council of Regency Constituted in Prevision of the Emperor's Death —Decrees Naming New Senators ...	54
XI.—ORGANISATION OF THE PRESS.	
Note on the Organisation of the Press in View of the Elections— Subventions—Choosing Editors—Correspondence—The Parisian Press—The <i>Peuple</i> —The <i>Patrie</i> —The Relations of the Press with the Government—Connection between the Tuileries and the Press—M. Gregory Ganesco—Expenditure for the Election of M. Terme. ...	59
XII.—THÉOPHILE SILVESTRE.	
Letters to M. Piétri and the Emperor—Plan for a History of the Second Republic and the Second Empire ...	78
XIII.—THE CABINET NOIR.	
Its Existence—Letter from M. Persigny—The Opening of Letters; M. Hyrvoix; the Countess de Castiglione; Madame Botti; M. A. de la Guéronnière—Report to the Emperor on M. Collet-Meygret; Seyssel Asphaute; M. Place; M. Pereire; Lighting Paris by Gas; Relations with MM. Mirès, Prost, and Millaud; the journal <i>La Vérité</i> ; the Coal Mines of Graissessac ...	85

XIV.—DUVERGIER'S REPORT ON OPENING OF LETTERS &c.

General Accusations against M. Collet-Meygret—Supervision of Correspondence; M. Fould, Mme. Botti; Anonymous Letters; M. de la Guéronnière; Countess de Castiglione; H.M. the Emperor—Gas Company Shares—The journal *La Vérité*—The *Figaro* and Mdlle. Berdalle—Brochure Dayet—Recriminations of M. Collet-Meygret 97

XV.—ROUHER'S PERSONAL REPORT TO THE EMPEROR, 1867 TO 1870.

Memorandum on the choice of a Minister of the Interior—First Presidents and Procurors-General—Prefects—Council of State—Legislative Body—Senate—Propositions of Promotion in the Legion of Honour 118

XVI.—MEXICO.—THE JECKER BONDS.

M. Jecker's account of the Mexican Bonds—The Duke de Morny's interest in them—Attempts to settle M. Jecker's affairs—His financial difficulties—Opposition of his creditors—The Mexican Mixed Commission—Threat to divulge the whole secret—Letter from Maximilian to Napoleon—The appointment of M. Langlais to the Ministry of Finance—The situation is perplexing—Maximilian is uneasy 137

XVII.—IMPERIAL PURSE.

Receipts for accounts charged upon the Imperial Purse—Bon-bons for General de Failly—The cost of a christening—Various lists of payments—Secret Funds—Personal Estate of the Emperor abroad—Heavy debt contracted by Louis Bonaparte in 1848—Sums received by Madame de Montijo—Civil List 144

XVIII.—BUDGET OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY—MURAT.

Achille Murat's difficulties with his creditors—The Emperor refuses to interfere—Sums allowed to the Murat family from 1852 to 1866—Annual Subventions to the members of the Imperial Family—Sums paid to Lucien Murat, Joachim Murat, and the Duchess de Mouchy 156

XIX.—FROM MADEMOISELLE BELLANGER, MARIE CAPELLE, AND MISS HOWARD.

Mdlle. Bellanger's relations with the Emperor—Marie Capelle thanks the Prince-President—Miss Howard's financial relations with the Emperor 161

	Page
XX.—ORLEANISM.	
The refusal of young Cavaignac to accept a prize from the Prince Imperial—M. Baroche, junior, and the late Duchess of Orleans...	167
XXI.—COLONEL ESPINASSE ON PARDONS.	
Revision of the judgments of the Mixed Commissions—Effects of the liberations on the anarchists; on the country—Numbers of the insurgents in different districts—Bad impressions of individual pardons—State of public spirit... ..	170
XXII.—PIERRE BONAPARTE AND NAPOLEON.	
Pierre Bonaparte wishes to legitimise his children—His difficulties as a member of the Imperial Family—Desires to sell his estate in Corsica—Napoleon refuses to consent to his marriage—A rejoinder—The trial at Tours	175
XXIII.—THE EMPEROR'S NOVEL.	
Plot of a Novel by the Emperor	181
XXIV.—THE SANDON AFFAIR.	
Persigny wishes to stifle the affair—M. Sandon arrested seventeen times; confined in a lunatic asylum for twenty months	183
XXV.—2ND DECEMBER, 1851.	
Prudence of MM. Rouher and Fould—Proscriptions of December, 1851—Total number arrested, brought to trial, and punished in December, 1851	185
XXVI.—LOUIS NAPOLEON, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.	
Election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as President of the Republic	189
XXVII.—PRUSSIAN AFFAIRS.	
Report of Lieutenant-Colonel de Stoffel—M. de Bismark proposes an Interview between King William and Napoleon—Prussian opinion and practices	192

THE SECRET DOCUMENTS

OF THE

SECOND EMPIRE.

I.

DUCROT AND TROCHU ANTICIPATE WAR.

Copy of a letter from General Ducrot to General Trochu—Extract of a letter from General Ducrot to General Trochu—Letter from General Ducrot to General Froissard—Letter from General Ducrot to General Froissard on the preparations of Prussia in 1869.

(2.)

Copy of a letter from General Ducrot to General Trochu.

This copy was found in the cabinet of the Emperor, who, no doubt, had never had the original in his hands. The copy was made, according to all probability, by the *employés* of the Cabinet Noir (secret council, a sort of Star-Chamber). The note found at the head, and which indicates—1st, that the letter is not dated; 2nd, that it arrived in Paris on Friday morning, the 7th of December, 1866, leaves little doubt as to this. It will be found from the document following (letter from M. de Persigny to the Emperor) that

the existence of the *Cabinet Noir* was fully recognised in high quarters.

Extract of a letter from General Ducrot to General Trochu.

[This letter is not dated, it bears the Strasbourg post-mark, and reached Paris on Friday morning, the 7th December, 1866. It is written in the second person singular, showing the close ties of friendship existing between the two veterans.]

“Since you are endeavouring to make the real truth heard and understood amongst the illustrious personages who surround the Emperor, add the following to your suggestions:—Whilst we are long and pompously deliberating on the measures necessary to constitute an army, Prussia is quietly meditating a formidable invasion of our territory. She will be prepared to put into line 600,000 men, and 1200 pieces of artillery, whilst we have not yet dreamt of organising the battalions indispensable to place 300,000 men, and 600 pieces before the enemy. At the other side of the Rhine there is not a single German who does not believe that war will be declared ere long. The most pacific, who, by their family relations, or by their interests, are more French in their sympathies, consider the struggle as inevitable, and are totally at a loss to account for our inaction. As it is necessary to seek a cause for everything, they assert that our Emperor has fallen into his second infancy. To those who are not blind it is perfectly evident that war will break out on an early day. With our stupid vanity, our foolish presumption, we fancy that we shall be permitted to choose the day and the hour, i.e., after

the Universal Exhibition, for the achievement of our organisation and our armament. Truly, I am of your opinion, and I begin to think that our Government is demented, but if Jupiter is determined to destroy it, let us not forget the destinies of our country, and that the fate of all is bound to these destinies; and since we are not yet smitten by this fatal insanity, let us make every effort to arrest this fearful decline, which is conducting us straight to precipices. Here is an additional detail to which I call your attention, because it is of a nature to open the eyes of the most blind.

“For some time past numerous Prussian agents have been overrunning our frontier departments, particularly the country comprised between the Moselle and the Vosges; they sound the opinion and feelings of the inhabitants, work upon the Protestants, who are numerous in this quarter, and are much less French than is generally thought. They are, indeed, the sons and grandsons of those same men who, in 1815, sent numerous deputations to the headquarters of the enemy to demand that Alsace should be re-annexed to Germany. This is a fact worthy of notice, for it may be reasonably considered as having for object to make known the plans and the campaign of the enemy. The Prussians adopted the same tactics in Bohemia and Silesia three months before the commencement of hostilities against Austria.”

(58.)

Letter from General Ducrot to General Froissard.

[This letter by General Ducrot was found among the papers of General Froissard. It tells blankly, cruelly, and

forcibly to the governor of the Prince Imperial the whole truth. The counsellors of Napoleon could not say that they were not well-informed.]

“Strasbourg, 28 Oct., 1868.

“My dear General,—I send you a *resumé* of my long and interesting conversations with M. de D——. I endeavour to render scrupulously his thoughts and appreciations without commentaries or amplifications. You say in your last letter that you have reason to think that M. de D—— has allowed himself to be led away by his hatred of Prussia. . . No, no, do not believe that. M. de D—— is a man of the age of seventy years ; he has too sure a judgment, and too great an experience of men and things to allow himself to be blinded by passion ; but he has ears to hear and eyes to see, and sufficient good sense to draw just conclusions from what he sees and hears. Besides, he has sufficient strength of character to prevent his being blinded by fear, that detestable counsellor who has committed and will still commit so many follies. All that I see and hear myself corroborates too strongly the opinions of M. de D—— for me to have any doubts as to the exactitude of his information, and the justness of his views.

“I saw, a few minutes ago, the Countess de Pourtalès, who has just arrived from Berlin. Up to the present time I had always been irritated by her optimism. Prussian by marriage, she greatly admired all acts of M. de Bismark, of King William, and all Prussians ; she pretended that nothing could cause a war between France and Prussia ; that we were made to love and understand one another. In fact, her language was a poetical variation of the speeches of Rouher, and the circulars of La Valette. Now,

that adorable Countess declares to me that she returns from Berlin with death in her soul ; that war is inevitable, and cannot fail to break out on the first opportunity ; that the Prussians are so well prepared and so skilfully commanded that they are assured of success.

“ ‘ What ! ’ I said, ‘ you blow the trumpet of Bellona, just at the time when all around nothing is spoken of but the pacific intentions of good neighbours, the wholesome terror with which we inspire them, of Bismark’s desire to avoid all pretext for a conflict, when we are sending all our soldiers to their homes, and are taking into consideration the reduction of the list of officers to such an extent that I am making preparations to retire very shortly to my country seat in Nivernais.’

“ ‘ Oh, General ! ’ she cried, ‘ that is what makes it so dreadful. Those people deceive us shamefully, and count upon taking us by surprise when we are unarmed. . . . Yes, the watchword is given ; in public they speak of peace, of the desire to keep on friendly terms with us ; but when one chats familiarly with those people who surround the King, they put on a bantering air, and say, “ Do you believe all that ? Do you not see that events are marching at a rapid rate, and that nothing can now avert the *dénouement* ? ” They scoff at our Government, our army, our Garde Mobile, our Ministers, the Emperor and the Empress, pretending that before long France will become a second Spain. In fine—would you believe it ?—the Minister of the King’s Household, M. de Schleinitz, dared to tell me that in less than eighteen months our Alsace would belong to Prussia. And if you knew the enormous preparations that are being made on all sides, with what ardour they

work in transforming the armies of the States recently annexed, what confidence there is in all ranks of society and in the army! . . . Oh! in truth, general, I return heartbroken, full of sorrow and fear. Yes, I am certain now that nothing—no, nothing—can prevent a war, and such a war!’

“Mme. de Pourtalès will probably be at Compiègne in a few days, and consequently you may have the pleasure of hearing her complaints and frightful tales.

“As a sequel to the insinuation of M. de Schleinitz relative to Alsace, I shall quote a few words of General de Moltke on the same subject. This great general was chatting with a Badener, who occupies a high position in his country. This person assured him that the population of the Grand Duchy was for the most part not very favourably disposed towards Prussia, and very much opposed to the projects for annexation. ‘Truly,’ said M. de Moltke, ‘it is incomprehensible, for those people ought to know that their future is in our hands; that shortly we shall be able to do them a great deal of good, or a great deal of harm. As soon as we are in a position to dispose of Alsace, and that will not be long first, we will be able, by uniting it to the Grand Duchy of Baden, to form a splendid province, comprised between the Vosges and the Black Forest, traversed throughout its whole length by a magnificent river, and, surely, no country in the world would find itself in similar conditions of wealth and prosperity.’ . . .

“And you expect that, in presence of such swagger and such insolent pretensions, too loudly asserted, I should remain calm and patient! Truly, one could not have a drop of old Gallic blood in one’s veins! I confess, then, that I live

in a state of perpetual exasperation; I experience the passion that a person must feel when, on attempting to rescue a drowning man, he meets with voluntary resistance, and finds himself sinking along with him he wished to save. . . .

"On seeing you get out of temper on reading these lines, I should be tempted to cry with Themistocles, 'Strike, but listen!'

"Believe, my dear general, in the assurance of my most affectionate and devoted sentiments.

"General A. DUCROT.

"P. S.—One word, in conclusion, which plainly depicts the situation; it is by a diplomatist in favour at Court, and certainly in a position to be very well informed. 'In truth,' lately wrote the Prince de M——, 'one would think that we were walking with cotton legs on eggs, as though we were afraid of breaking them.'"

(59.)

Letter from General Ducrot to General Froissard on the preparations of Prussia in 1869.

"Strasbourg, 31 January, 1869.

"My dear General,—I have just seen Commandant Schenck, who brought me news of you, and told me that you had conversed on certain events which are now taking place at Mayence and Rastadt, and which are very significant.

"The same information has reached me at Strasbourg by rumours which circulate in the town, and the origin of which it is impossible to trace. The Prussians, it is said,

are cutting down the trees on the glacis of Mayence and Rastadt : in the Grand Duchy of Baden they are putting into requisition all surgeons and veterinary surgeons who are able to march, and are distributing them, as auxiliaries, between the different corps. There being no possibility of sending officers abroad, I was obliged to seek indirect means of ascertaining the truth as to these rumours, and I applied to a M. de Gaston, late sub-officer in the French army, settled at Landau for some years, and who, having frequently occasion to go to Mayence and into the Grand Duchy of Baden, readily undertook to gather, *de visu*, all the necessary information.

“As to the surgeons and veterinary surgeons, M. de Gaston has cited facts which appear conclusive. A fortnight ago, his veterinary surgeon, who resides at Mannheim, received a commission of veterinary surgeon of the first-class, for a body of troops (M. Gaston does not remember what), with orders to hold himself in readiness to join it on the shortest notice.

“It is greatly to be regretted that we have no means of watching over what is going on, and what is being prepared amongst our too active neighbours. Is it not indispensable that we should immediately organise a system of military espionage, which would place at our disposition a certain number of agents, whose duty it would be to keep us *au courant* as regards the slightest incidents, and who, on the breaking out of war, could render us incalculable service? It is not at the moment that relations are interrupted that this service should be organised ; it requires time and a great deal of address to organise it properly. I leave these reflections for your consideration.

“I thank you for having communicated to me the kind words of the Emperor in my behalf; that gives me great pleasure. I have written to General Castelnau in the sense which you indicated to me; but I know how to believe in his benevolent intentions towards me.

“Believe, my dear General, in the assurance of my most devoted sentiments,

“General A. DUCROT.

“Schenck left this morning for Rastadt; he will be at Darmstadt to-morrow, at Mayence on Wednesday, and will return here on Thursday night.”

II.

PERSIGNY TO THE EMPEROR.

Objects to reduction of army, and wishes to consult him on a delicate subject—He foresees the fall of the Empire—Extract of a letter from M. de Persigny.

“Sire,—Permit me to address directly to your Majesty a copy of a work which has just been published by my fellow-countrymen at Forez, and which forms a collection of the principal things I have done, said, or written. I take the liberty of making four marks on the book. If you will take the trouble of reading three addresses I made in my own department, you will be able to see in what degree my influence is exercised in my own neighbourhood. I point out, besides, a succinct *exposé* of my system of the Pyramids, which resumes, I think, the whole question very clearly. I have not superintended the publication of this work. It has been prepared without my knowledge, and it was only at the last moment that it was communicated to me. Monsieur Bavoux, Councillor of State (a man of pronounced Napoleonic sentiments), had frequently requested me to have it published, but never succeeded in overcoming my indifference. Now, however, I am not sorry that it has been done.

“Sire,—In consequence of the question of titles, I have not thought it proper to communicate to you my impression of the proposed reduction of the army; but I do not think that your Majesty, for a considerable time back, has been

advised to commit a graver error. When it is proposed to reduce the army and to arrest the general progress of the whole country, great considerations of European politics are invoked. If the army feels wounded in its interests, it is, at least, compelled to incline before important reasons. Public interest and its own patriotism impose resignation. But to allege only common reasons of economy—the saving of twelve or thirteen millions in a budget of nearly two milliards—to wound the susceptibilities of the army to such an extent is, in truth, to pay dearly for a cheese-paring economy. Then to announce to the world that the country is so overwhelmed in debt that it cannot pay its army—I regret it sincerely; it appears to me an excess of political and financial imprudence. Decidedly, those two statesmen—Fould and Rouher—by their complete absence of political and financial knowledge, appear to be conspiring to ensure your downfall.

“I should have wished, also, to have spoken on a delicate subject. I am in possession of some revelations concerning the service of what is called the *Cabinet Noir*, furnished me by the principal secretary. This individual is absolutely in want of employment; the observations he has made to me must not, therefore, be revealed to his superiors; they are especially interesting to your Majesty. If you should return to Paris, I would ask to be accorded an audience—but not at Compiègne—such a proceeding would excite too much jealousy and uproar amongst the members of the Government.

“I am, with respect, your Majesty’s very humble and very devoted servant and subject,

[No date.]

“PERSIGNY.”

(4.)

Extract of a Letter from M. de Persigny.

[He foresees the fall of the Empire.]

"Chamarande, 15th Dec., 1867.

"Sire,—I beg your Majesty to read the following letter with attention :—

(Here follow four pages in octavo on a *projet de loi* concerning the press; then the following appreciation of the general situation of the Empire at the end of 1867.)

"And now, Sire, that I have exhausted this subject, I will not return to it, for, I avow, I possess no longer the liberty of thought necessary to broach subjects of comparatively secondary importance in presence of the important questions which are now being agitated; when the Empire appears to be crumbling in all parts; when this struggle, at once desperate and implacable, waged against you by those who, under the pretext of establishing the Parliamentary régime, have sworn your downfall, is carried on from one success to another; when, in fact, each oratorical victory of your Ministers is a defeat for your Majesty. I have followed the late debates; I have witnessed on one side the most atrocious hatred, and something still more than hatred, attacking you, and you alone; the tone, the gesture, everything betrayed to the eyes of all an implacable determination; and on the other, your Government, forced, perhaps, to adopt this attitude by the situation of things, inclining before your enemies, humbly asking of desperate adversaries to withdraw their interpellations, abandoning in a moment the policy followed during fourteen years between the extreme Right and the extreme Left; making of an

energetic act, of a victory of your Majesty, the occasion of a triumph for your enemies. And now, between what is no longer the Empire, and that which is not yet the Parliamentary *régime*,* can one be astonished at the public dissatisfaction and anxiety of mind? As for myself, I repeat it, I have not the courage to follow abstract studies in the midst of such moral anarchy. If your Majesty does not perceive these evils, where is the good of imagining plans of improvement for a house already on fire; and if you do see them, why isolate yourself from your most devoted servants; why not take someone into your confidence, in order to find the means of changing such a state of things?

“I am, with respect, Sire, your Majesty’s very humble and very devoted servant and faithful subject,

“PERSIGNY.”

III.

FROM THE QUEEN OF HOLLAND TO MONSIEUR D'ANDRÉ.

WARNING.

[Napoleon had long been warned of the danger which would result to France from a united Germany, organised militarily in the hands of Prussia. The letter which follows, addressed by the Queen of Holland to Monsieur d'André, during the war of 1866, was found amongst M. Conti's papers. The note at the head is in the handwriting of Napoleon.]

Copy of a letter from the Queen of Holland to Monsieur d'André.

"July 18, 1866.

"You appear to entertain strange illusions! Your *prestige* has diminished more sensibly during the last 15 days than during the whole reign. You allow the weak to be destroyed, you leave to aggrandise without limit the insolence and the brutality of your closest neighbour; you accept a gift, and you do not think it worth while to address a word of recognition to the one who offers it. I regret that you should have thought me interested in the matter, and that you did not perceive the immense danger of a powerful Germany and a powerful Italy. It is the *dynasty* which is menaced, and it is that which will sustain the consequences.

I say it, for such is the truth, which you will perceive only too late. Do not think that the misfortune that overwhelms me in my country's disaster renders me unjust or suspicious. Venetia ceded, Austria should have been aided; you ought to have marched on the Rhine, and have imposed your conditions. To allow Austria to be ruined was more than a crime, it was a mistake. Probably this will be my last letter. Nevertheless, I should consider myself unworthy of an old and serious friendship, did I not, for the last time, tell you the *whole* truth. I do not anticipate that it will be attended to; but I am determined to be able to say, one day or another, that I have done everything in my power to forewarn you of the ruin of that which has hitherto inspired me with so much faith, so much affection."

[This letter was, as will be seen, written during the war in Bohemia, and on the morrow of the cession of Venetia to France.]

IV.

THE EMPEROR TO M. CONTI.

RE-ANNEXATION OF BELGIUM.

[Note dictated by the Emperor to M. Conti.]

[It expresses the projected annexation of Belgium. This letter, which is in the handwriting of the chief of the Emperor's Cabinet, was found amongst the letters and other documents dictated to M. Conti by the Emperor. No date.]

“ If France places itself boldly on the principle of nationalities, it is important, from the present time, that a Belgian nationality should not exist, and to arrange this essential point with Prussia. The Cabinet of Berlin appearing, on the other hand, disposed to enter, with France, into arrangements which it would be convenient for France to make with it, a secret treaty might be negotiated engaging the two contracting parties. Without assuming that such a treaty would be a perfectly sure guarantee, it would have the double advantage of compromising Prussia, and would be at the same time a gage of the sincerity of the Emperor's politics and pretensions. It is necessary not to conceal—when the characters of the King of Prussia and his First Minister are so well known—that the latest diplomatic incidents, as well as the actual dispositions of the public sentiment in France, should have confirmed them in the conviction that we have not renounced the revindication of the Rhine frontier. In order to be

certain of finding at Berlin the confidence necessary to the maintenance of intimate relations, we ought to employ every means to dissipate the apprehensions which have always existed with respect to this eventuality—apprehensions which have been awakened, and even inflamed, by our latest communications. This result cannot be attained by simple words. An act is necessary; and this act, which will decide the fate of Belgium, in concert with Prussia; by proving at Berlin that the Emperor decidedly seeks, otherwise than on the Rhine, the extension of territory necessary to France since the events of which Germany has been the theatre, would at least be equal to a relative certitude that the Prussian Government would place no obstacle in the way of our aggrandisement in the North.”

V.

THE EMPRESS FROM EGYPT.

LETTER FROM THE EMPRESS TO THE EMPEROR.

Voyage in Egypt.“On the Nile, on board the *Impératrice*,

“Oct. 27, 1869.

“My very dear Louis,—I write you *en route* on [illegible] the Nile. To say that the weather is fresh, would not be the absolute truth; but the heat is supportable in consequence of the air, but in the sun it is very different. Besides, I have informed you of the state of the weather by telegraph. I receive news every day by telegraph of yourself and Louis; it is marvellous, and very consoling to me; for thus I am always kept on the friendly side by the wire which connects me with everything dearest to my affections. I am quite charmed with my voyage, and I would greatly wish to give you a description of it, but other more charming and capable writers than myself have undertaken this task, so that I shall remain silent on the subject. I was much annoyed at yesterday's occurrences, especially as I was not with you in Paris; but everything passed off well, according to your despatch. When one sees other peoples, one judges and appreciates the injustice of our own much better. I think, *any other consideration notwithstanding*, that you ought not to be discouraged, but that you should continue in the path marked out by yourself; good faith in the concessions already made, as in fact is thought and said [*sic*], is a good thing; I hope, therefore, that your speech will be conceived

in this sense ; the more will force be found necessary at a later period, the more it is urgent to prove to the country that one has [*sic*] ideas, and not expedients. I am very far away, and too ignorant of events as they are passing to express myself thus ; but I am quite convinced that ideas followed up become a real force. I do not like *acoups* [*sic*], *coups d'état*, and I am persuaded that *coups d'état* are not made twice in the same reign. I speak without reasoning, for I am preaching to a convert much better instructed in such things than myself. But it is necessary to say something, were it only to prove what you already know—that my heart is with you both ; and if, in tranquil times, my wandering imaginations love to wander, I love to be near you in times of anxiety and disquietude.

“Far from men and events, one feels a calm which does one good. By an effort of imagination I fancy that everything is going marvellously well. Amuse yourself : distraction is absolutely necessary—it is as indispensable to recover moral force as it is to re-establish a weakened constitution ; and the same fixed *idea* may result in the destruction of the best organised intellect. I have already experienced this ; and all those events which, during my life, have tarnished the bright colours of my illusions I wish to forget. My life is ended, but I cherish the hope of my son's future, and I think that those are real joys which come from his heart to my own. In the meantime, I am profiting by my voyage, basking in the sun, in an almost savage country, cultivated on the banks for a space of fifty yards, and, behind, the desert with its downs, all blazing under an ardent sun. Good-bye ; and believe in the sincerity of your ever-devoted

“EUGÉNIE.”

VI.

CASSAGNAC TO CONTI.—APRIL, 1870.

[The following letter was written by M. Granier de Cassagnac to M. Conti at the period of the last plebiscite.]

“Château du Couloumé par Plaisance, Gers,
25th April, 1870.

“Dear Sir,—I shall not be able to be in Paris on the 30th of this month for the second payment to be made to Gibiat, because I wish to preside, on the 8th of May, at the voting of my canton. I therefore beg of you to permit my son to supply my place. I have written to desire him to call upon you on the 30th.

“The country which I have passed through is very peaceable: they are preparing to vote for the *Emperor*. Of a *Senatus-Consultum*, a *Parliamentary régime*, or a *Liberal Cabinet*, there is no question. There is, in this part of the country, nothing to be done but to distribute the voting-papers. The rural population recognises only the *Emperor*, wishes only for him, and will vote only for him, and will vote anything the *Emperor* proposes.

“I visited the chief town of the *arrondissement* and some of the cantons: the inhabitants are much displeased with the inconsistencies of the Ministerial doctrine. M. Ollivier has lost the greater part of his authority by resenting the intervention of the Government in the affairs of the populations and now practising it with great energy.

“ The people in this part of the country do not believe in any other *régime* than that which is strictly conservative. As to *Liberalism*, they confound it with *agitation*, and will none of it.

“ To resume, the vote in this part of the country will be excellent, because the name of the Emperor is popular and venerated. But, nevertheless, it must be said that his condescendence to the agitators was universally regretted.

“ Such is, my dear sir, the disposition which I notice around me. I have nothing to do with it : it is spontaneous and sincere.

“ Yours truly,

“ A. GRANIER DE CASSAGNAC.”

VII.

DESPATCHES OF THE LAST DAYS OF
THE EMPIRE.

The Empress to the Princess Mathilde, St. Gratien—To H.M. the Emperor, Camp of Châlons—Marshal MacMahon to the Minister of War—The Minister of War to Marshal MacMahon—The Minister of War to Marshal MacMahon, Camp of Châlons—The Minister of War to the Emperor at the Camp of Châlons—The Inspectors delegated by the Staff to Marshal MacMahon—The General Commanding at Verdun to the Emperor, at the Camp of Châlons; and to the Minister of War, Paris—Marshal Bazaine to the Emperor, Camp of Châlons—The Minister of War to the Emperor, at Rheims—The Emperor to the Minister of War—Marshal Bazaine to the Emperor—Marshal Bazaine to the Minister of War—Marshal MacMahon to the Minister of War, Paris—Marshal MacMahon to the General in command at Verdun; to the chief in command at Monimédy; and to the Mayor of Longwyon—MacMahon to Bazaine—The Minister of War to Marshal MacMahon—The Minister of War to the Emperor—The Emperor to the Minister of War, Paris—Marshal MacMahon to the Minister of War—Extracts from despatches dated September 4th—Replies—The last despatch sent from the Tuileries on the 4th of September—The Campaign of 1870—The Emperor's Household—Service of the Grand Marshal.

(12.)

Despatches of the last days of the Empire.

[The despatches of Marshal Bazaine prove that at the time M. de Palikao made reassuring communications to the Legislative Body concerning the progress of the war, he was receiving the most discouraging news. These despatches show, besides, that, notwithstanding the statements of the Minister of War to the contrary, the Emperor continued in

chief command. They reveal, in fact, a widely-disseminated system of barefaced lying.]

The Empress to the Princess Mathilde, St. Gratien.

"August 7, 12.35.

"I have received bad news from the Emperor. The army is retreating. I go at once to Paris, where I have convoked a Council of Ministers. "

"EUGÉNIE."

To H.M. the Emperor, Camp of Châlons.

"Camp of Fort-Plappeville, Aug. 18,
"8.20 evening.

"I am not aware whether Verdun is amply provisioned. I should think it necessary only to leave what is required for the purposes of the town. I have returned from the plateau. The attack has been very severe. At this moment the fire has ceased. Our troops maintain their positions. One regiment, the 60th, suffered greatly whilst defending the farm of Saint-Hubert.

"Marshal BAZAINE."

Marshal MacMahon to the Minister of War.

"Camp of Châlons, Aug. 20, 8.45.

"The information which has reached me appears to indicate that the three armies of the enemy are placed in such a position as to be able to prevent Bazaine from taking the roads to Briey, Verdun, and Saint-Mihiel. Not knowing the direction in which Bazaine is operating his retreat, although I am ready to march to-morrow, I think it best to

remain in camp until I am informed of the *exact* road he has taken—whether towards the north or the south.

“ Marshal de MACMAHON.”

The Minister of War to Marshal MacMahon.

“ From Paris to the Camp of Châlons,

“ Aug. 20, 3.40 p.m.

“ I have received your despatch dated 8.45 ; the only advice I can give you is the following :—On the 18th inst., in the evening, Bazaine’s line of position was between Amanvilliers and Sussy.”

The Minister of War to Marshal MacMahon, Camp of Châlons.

“ From Paris to the Imperial Headquarters,

“ Aug. 21, 10.15 evening.

“ Monsieur de Bouville telegraphs, as follows, from Vienna, under date of the 20th :—‘ Information from a sure source received from the headquarters of the Prince Royal of Prussia, states that cholera and typhus are carrying off numerous victims. It will be impossible to give sufficient care to the sick and the wounded. It is impossible to imagine the serious results should the war be prolonged.’ ”

The Minister of War to the Emperor at the Camp of Châlons.

[At the time that M. de Palikao announced from the tribune that the Emperor no longer held the command-in-chief, the Minister of War sent the following despatch] :—

“ Headquarters, Paris, Aug. 21,
“ 10 o'clock.

“ There are two courses to take ; either to march in all haste on Montmédy to relieve Bazaine, whose position is extremely critical, or to march against the Prince Royal of Prussia, whose army is very numerous, and who intends to march on Paris, where he is to be proclaimed Emperor of Germany. In the latter case, I could send you the 13th corps d'armée, 27,000 strong, under the command of General Vinoy, to occupy La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, where it would act as a turning pivot to the army of MacMahon, who would at once march vigorously on the flank of the Prussian army—either by taking the road to Vitry, Champaubert, and Montmirail, or by marching towards Wassy, Montiérender, and Brienne.”

The Inspectors delegated by the Staff to Marshal MacMahon.

“ Longwy, Aug. 22, 4.50.

“ The inspectors apprise you that Marshal Bazaine has addressed the following despatch to your Excellency :—
‘ I have been compelled to take up a position near Metz, in order to give my soldiers some rest, and to receive provisions and ammunition. The numbers of the enemy are constantly increasing around me, and, in order to join you, I shall probably follow the line of the north. I will inform you if the march can be effected without compromising the army.’ ”

*The General Commanding at Verdun to the Emperor, at the
Camp at Châlons ; and to the Minister of War, Paris.*

“ At length we have news of Marshal Bazaine, by wood-rangers, who bring the following despatch :—

“ ‘ Ban Saint-Martin, Aug. 19.

“ ‘ *Marshal Bazaine to the Emperor, Camp of Châlons.*

“ ‘ The army was engaged during the whole of Tuesday on the positions of Saint-Privat and Rozereuillers, which it still occupies. The 4th and 6th Corps only towards nine o'clock in the evening effected a change of front—in order to parry a turning movement by the right, which the masses of the enemy attempted to effect by the aid of the reigning obscurity. This morning I recalled from their positions the 2nd and 3rd Corps, and the army is again placed on the left bank of the Moselle—from Longueville to Sansonnet—forming a curved line, passing by the heights of Ban Saint-Martin, behind the forts of Saint-Quentin and Plappeville. The troops are fatigued with these incessant combats, and two or three days' repose are indispensable to them. The King of Prussia, with M. de Moltke, was this morning at Rézonville, and everything appears to indicate that the Prussian army is about to attack Metz. I intend, as before, to take the direction of the north, and to fight in retreat by Montmédy, on the road to Sainte-Ménéhould and Châlons, if the latter place is not too strongly occupied. In the latter case, I shall continue my march on Sedan and even Mézières, in order to reach Châlons. There are 700 prisoners in Metz, which will become an embarrassment if the place is besieged. I am about to propose an exchange to General de Moltke for a similar number of French officers and soldiers.’

.(“ To be given to MacMahon.”)

The Minister of War to the Emperor, at Rheims.

“Paris, Aug. 22, 1.5 p.m.

“The unanimous sentiment of the Council, after the latest news from Marshal Bazaine, is more energetically pronounced than ever. The resolutions adopted last night will be abandoned. Neither a decree, nor a letter, nor a proclamation will be published.(1) An aide-de-camp of the Minister of War is about to leave for Rheims, with all the necessary instructions. Should Bazaine not be relieved, the most deplorable consequences would result for Paris. In presence of such a disaster it might be feared that the capital would not be able to defend itself. Your despatch to the Empress convinces us that this opinion is shared by all. Paris will be, however, in a condition to defend itself against the army of the Prince Royal of Prussia. The works of defence are being pushed forward rapidly ; a new army is in course of formation at Paris. We await a reply by telegraph.”

The Emperor to the Minister of War.

“Courcelles, Aug. 22, 4 o'clock.

“Received your despatch. We leave to-morrow for Montmédy. In order to deceive the enemy, order to be inserted in the journals that we are leaving with 150,000

(1.) What decree is spoken of? What would the proclamation alluded to announce to the French people? It will be seen further on that Monsieur Rouher went to the head-quarters at Rheims for these decrees, which were never published.

These decrees, together with the proclamation alluded to above, were found to-day, the 22nd of September, in the cabinet of Monsieur Rouher, at the Luxembourg.

men for Saint Dizier. I accept Wimpffen in the place of De Failly. Maissiat cannot continue in command. Appoint Lacretelle in his place. Suppress the decrees which Rouher has brought you, but listen to the conclusions concerning the old soldiers."

Marshal Bazaine to the Emperor.

"Ban Saint-Martin, Aug. 20.

"My troops continue to occupy the same positions. The enemy would appear to be establishing batteries intended to aid in the investment of the place, and is constantly receiving reinforcements. General Marguerite was killed on the 16th. It was thought that he had disappeared. We have upwards of 16,000 wounded in the town of Metz.

"THE COMMANDANT OF THIONVILLE."

Marshal Bazaine to the Minister of War.

[This despatch does not bear the date of its transmission from Mézières.]

"We are under Metz, taking in supplies of provisions and ammunition. I am about to write to the Emperor, who will communicate my despatch to you. I have received the despatch from MacMahon, to whom I have intimated what I think I shall be able to do in a few days."

Marshal MacMahon to the Minister of War, Paris.

"Courcelles, Aug. 22, 11.30.

"Marshal Bazaine writes, under date of the 19th, to the

effect that he still expected to be able to operate his retreat by Montmédy. In consequence, I am about to take the necessary measures.

“ Marshal MACMAHON.”

Marshal MacMahon to the General in command at Verdun; to the chief in command at Montmédy; and to the Mayor of Longwyon.

“ Forward the following despatch to Marshal Bazaine ; very important ; send it by five or six couriers, to whom you will pay no matter what sum they may consider necessary to accomplish their mission.

“ Marshal MACMAHON.”

MacMahon to Bazaine.

“ Received your despatch of the 19th. Am at Rheims, going in the direction of Montmédy. Will be, the day after to-morrow, on the Aisne, where I shall act according to circumstances, in order to come to your assistance. Send couriers, at any price, with news.”

The Minister of War to Marshal MacMahon.

“ Bethenville, near Rheims.

“ The two batteries furnished by the Marine Artillery belong to the 1st Division of the 12th Corps.”

The Minister of War to the Emperor.

“ From Paris to Courcelles, Aug. 23,

“ 4.20 p.m.

“ Wimpffen is apprised. Lacretelle is appointed. The

decrees given to Rouher are suppressed. I have renewed my applications for the completion of the regiments of infantry and cavalry—four regiments with six companies each. We have already twenty-six regiments ready to march.”

The Emperor to the Minister of War, Paris.

“Courcelles, Aug. 23, 8.15.

“It is really essential to send towards Rheims as a diversion—the principal point on the line—a sufficiently numerous force to prevent the advanced guard of the enemy from interrupting our communications.

“NAPOLEON.”

Marshal MacMahon to the Minister of War.

“Headquarters, Rethel, Aug. 24, 9.45 p.m.

“I fear I shall again have to encounter in the department of the Ardennes great difficulties in feeding my army from the produce of the country—difficulties which would become insurmountable if we should succeed in joining Bazaine. I therefore require that considerable supplies of biscuits should be forwarded to Mézières—say two million rations.

“MARSHAL MACMAHON.”

Extracts from despatches dated September 4th.

(INAUGURATION OF THE REPUBLIC.)

“Libramont, Sept. 4, 1.45.

“Is the Prefect of Police at the Tuileries?”

Reply.

"He is not at the Tuileries. Do not send this despatch. There is a gentleman in the adjoining cabinet."

"Then don't give anything to send. The new Director-General will send some one in half an hour."

2.30.

"Do you receive despatches for the Empress?"

Reply.

"No."

"Is the Palace invaded, then?"

Reply.

"No."

"If that is the case, I send you the following despatch from Madrid."

(Here follows a despatch from the Countess de Montijo to her daughter, the Empress.)

The last despatch sent from the Tuileries on the 4th of September.

"Paris, 2.50.

"Duperre

"At Mauberge.

"We hasten to Belgium.

"FILON."

(M. Filon, the Prince Imperial's tutor, sent the greater part of the despatches for the Empress.)

(15.)

The Campaign of 1870.

[Napoleon was, above all, anxious, on entering on the campaign, about the care to be devoted to his household and his table. The following instructions belong to history.]

THE EMPEROR'S HOUSEHOLD.

Service of the Grand Marshal.

[Note concerning the service of the aides-de-camp, and of ordinance officers attached to the Emperor during the campaign.]

“The aides-de-camp and officers of ordinance will perform the service in rotation by seniority. There will be an aide-de-camp and an ordinance officer on duty every day. There will be two tables every day, whether in the fields or in the towns in which we sojourn, in order to afford the Emperor the opportunity of giving invitations to a more or less considerable number.

“At the Emperor's table the Emperor's aide-de-camp on service and the first equerry will eat (if the Emperor so orders). The second table will be presided over by the Adjutant-General, and will be composed of the aides-de-camp, officers of ordinance, equeries, officers attached to the Emperor's aides-de-camp, and, if necessary, the cabinet secretaries.

“To simplify this machinery, which, at first sight, appears very complicated, all the Imperial cantines—which will form a total of from twenty to twenty-four—ought to be divided into two equal parts, each representing a particular service—that of the Emperor and that of the Adjutant-General—each having a house-steward, cooks, and brigaded assistants.

"The servants attached to the valets of the Emperor will bivouac or camp under tents carried by the fourgons of his Majesty. The valets of the Emperor, house-stewards, and the head groom will alone be boarded from his Majesty's table. The valets of the aides-de-camp and of ordinance officers will receive campaign allowances, and will arrange amongst themselves for the installation of a special kitchen. They will perform in turn the service of their masters. To this effect the quartermaster will keep a surveillance over the service.

"The grooms will group themselves, and line as soldiers in campaign. One mule will be allowed them to carry their kitchen utensils. They will be under the command of a quartermaster-general and a brigadier, who will be obliged to hold themselves responsible for their discipline.

"The Emperor's baggage will be escorted by a brigadier and six gendarmes of the squadron of the Guard. This baggage and the fourgons will always be under the command of one of the Emperor's couriers.

"Palace of St. Cloud, July 18.

"THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE PALACE."

The Emperor's Household.

SERVICE OF THE GRAND MARSHAL.

[Note on the organisation of the equipages of the aides-de-camp, and on their campaign outfits.]

"There will be allowed, as an indemnity, on entering on the campaign, to the aides-de-camp designated to accompany the Emperor, 20,000 francs ; and to the ordinance officers, 15,000 francs. The former must have four saddle-horses,

and the latter three. These gentlemen ought to procure the horses with the least possible delay. The description of these animals must be sent, by the Emperor's orders, to the Adjutant-General of the Palace, who will have them inscribed in a book set apart for the purpose in his office. There will be allowed, if demanded, to the aides-de-camp, two foot-grooms to conduct and groom their horses, and one groom to each ordinance officer. These gentlemen may each take with them a valet.

"Each aide-de-camp or ordinance officer must have two complete sets of harness, in order to facilitate the changing of horses. The aides-de-camp and ordinance officers, during the campaign, will wear the tunic without trimmings, the hat and trousers scarlet, with spatterdashes; or trousers, with leather leggings, at discretion. There will be supplied to each of these gentlemen, by order of the Adjutant-General, a pair of bottle cases, with iron hoops, in order that they may be carried either in the baggage waggons or on mules. A certain number of baggage waggons and mules will be appropriated for this service by the first equerry. Tents—one for every two aides-de-camp, and one for every four ordinance officers—will be carried by the baggage waggons for service in case of necessity. The grooms and valets must provide themselves with tents similar to those used by the troops. Other than the regular baggage contained in the cantines, the fourgons of the heavy baggage of the Imperial headquarters will carry an extra cantine, besides the two spoken of, for each of these gentlemen, containing changes of dress, &c.; these cantines will only rejoin them during protracted delays in towns or cantonments—the heavy luggage waggons remaining with

the rear-guard. The aides-de-camp and officers of ordinance must provide themselves with the means of attaching their horses, either by cords or horse locks, as they may find it most convenient. These objects must naturally be carried by their own horses, as well as their stable utensils and saddler's tools.

“Palace of St. Cloud, 18th July, 1870.

“The ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE PALACE.”

(16.)

Projects of Proclamations and Decrees.

[The subjoined documents were found among M. Rouher's papers. It is known that the ex-President of the Senate went to see the Emperor at Rheims. There it was that these documents were drawn up. At the last moment the plan was abandoned, in order to march upon the Ardennes, and to finish—whilst leaving the capital without an army of reserve—by the disaster of Sedan.]

[Decree appointing Marshal MacMahon General-in-Chief of the Army of Châlons. The original is in the handwriting of M. Rouher; the signature is that of the Emperor.]

“Napoleon, by the grace of God and the national will, Emperor of the French,

“To all present and to come, greeting;

“Have decreed and decree as follows:—

“Article 1.—Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, is appointed General-in-Chief of all the military forces comprising the army of Châlons, and of all those which are or

may be assembled under the walls of Paris or in the capital.

“Article 2.—Our Minister of War is charged with the execution of the present decree.

“Done at Rheims, the 21st Aug., 1870.

“NAPOLEON.

“For the Emperor :

“The Minister of War.”

Draft of a Letter from Napoleon to Marshal MacMahon.

(In Monsieur Rouher's handwriting.)

“Marshal,—Our communications with Bazaine are interrupted. Circumstances are becoming difficult and grave. I appeal to your patriotism and devotion ; and confer upon you the command-in-chief of the army of Châlons and the troops which will be assembled round the walls of Paris and in the capital. You will have, Marshal, the greatest glory—that of combatting and repulsing a foreign invasion. As for me, inspired by no other political preoccupation than the welfare of the country, *I am determined to be the first soldier* (1) to fight and conquer, or *die at your side* (2) in the midst of my soldiers.

The Emperor's Cabinet ; the Private Secretary.

[First draft of a proclamation from Marshal MacMahon.]

“Imperial Headquarters, —, 18—.

“Soldiers,—The Emperor has confided to me the command-in-chief of all the military forces which, with the

(1) The words in italics are erased in the original document.

(2) Erased.

army of Châlons, are about to assemble round the capital. My most ardent desire would have been to have gone to the rescue of Marshal Bazaine ; but, after mature consideration, I consider such an enterprise impossible under existing circumstances. *We could not approach Metz for several days ; and ere then the Marshal will have broken through the obstacles which keep him there. Our march direct on Metz could not* (1)

“During our march towards the east Paris would be unprotected, and a formidable Prussian army might arrive under its walls. After the reverses which it suffered under the first Empire, Prussia has created a military organisation which *permits it to arm rapidly its people, and to place under arms, in a few days, its entire population. It has thus considerable forces at its disposition.* The fortifications of Paris will arrest the advancing flood of the enemy ; they will afford us time and means (2) — permitted the enemy to set considerable armies in movement. The fortifications of Paris will arrest the flood (2) — the enemy, and afford us time to organise (2), to utilise in our turn all the military forces of the country. The national ardour is immense ; the country is upstanding ; I accept with confidence the command which the Emperor has conferred on me. Soldiers, I count upon your patriotism, upon your valour, and I have the conviction *that, with perseverance* (1), we shall vanquish the enemy, and drive him from our territory.

Second draft of a Proclamation from Marshal MacMahon.

[This draft is written in M. Rouher's hand.]

[Napoleon proposed to send to the Marshal, at one and the

same time, both the letter and the proclamation which the Marshal was to address to the soldiers.]

"Soldiers! The Emperor has confided to me the functions of General-in-Chief of all the military forces which, with the Army of Châlons, will assemble round Paris and in the capital. *My strongest desire and my first thought* (1)—my most ardent desire was to march to the rescue of Marshal Bazaine; but such an enterprise is impossible. We could not arrive near Metz for several days, and ere then Marshal Bazaine will have broken through the obstacles which hem him in. Besides, whilst we should be marching direct on Metz, Paris would remain open, and a numerous Prussian army would arrive under its walls.

"The system of the Prussians consists in the concentration of their forces, and in operating in great masses. We ought to imitate their tactics. I am about to conduct you under the walls of Paris, which forms the boulevard of France against the enemy.

"In a few days the Army of Châlons will be doubled in numbers. The old soldiers of from twenty-five to thirty years of age are rejoining everywhere. The national ardour is immense. All the forces of the country are ready. I accept with confidence the command which the Emperor has conferred upon me.

"Soldiers! I count upon your patriotism—on your valour. *I hope to vanquish* (1), and I have the conviction that, with perseverance and time, we shall conquer the enemy and drive him from our territory."

(17.)

[Napoleon, after his first two defeats, had entertained the idea of returning to Paris. The fact is proved by the following despatch from the Empress—a despatch which had been torn up, and was found by the Commission in fragments.]

The Empress to the Emperor.

“ I receive a despatch from Piétri. ‘Have you reflected on all the consequences which would result from your entrance into Paris under the stigma of two reverses ? As for me, I dare not undertake the responsibility of being counselled. If you decide to return, it would at least be necessary to present such a measure to the country as only provisional : the Emperor returning to Paris to reorganise the second army, and temporarily confiding the command-in-chief of the Army of the Rhine to Bazaine.’ ”

Despatch to Napoleon.

[The following despatch shows that the Emperor was still in command, notwithstanding his successive defeats and his military ignorance—notwithstanding, too, that General Palikao had announced to the Chamber that the Emperor had been superseded in the chief command by Marshal Bazaine—and notwithstanding the pressure of public opinion and repeated counsels. General de Failly is maintained at the head of his corps. The document is not dated, but is signed by the Empress.]

“ At Paris, as at Châlons, the absolute conviction is that General Failly has not been equal to the command confided

to him. The Council supplicates the Emperor to take a necessary, although painful, resolution. I have to inform you that General Wimpffen has been appointed to the command of a *corps d'armée* at Paris. You might, if you require him, call him near you.

“EUGÉNIE.”

VIII.

THE FRENCH EMBASSY AT ST.
PETERSBURG—1870.

(36.)

PRIVATE LETTERS FROM M. DE VERDIÈRE, ATTACHÉ TO
GENERAL FLEURY.

[Details concerning the ever-increasing favours with which General Fleury is received at the Court of the Emperor Alexander. M. de Verdière gives in the following letter a singular proof.]

“ January 25, 1870.

“ To-day, my dear friend, I only send you a few lines with our affectionate remembrances. The courier leaves two days earlier than usual, and the time presses ! Nothing could be more monotonous than our existence here ; and, as I have already told you that I was profoundly dissatisfied with this place, it is not necessary that I should insist on the subject. One thing only is making progress here—and that is the principal—*i.e.*, the daily-increasing favour of General Fleury with the Emperor of Russia. He has taken quite a fancy to him ; he always takes him to his bear-hunting parties, and allows the General to travel with him on a sledge for *one* person. This is the greatest of all favours, and I think that our politics will be highly favoured should no impediment from Paris be placed in their way. Already important results have been obtained—I mean the drawing closer of the bonds of friendship existing between

the Czar and France, and the assurance that Russia will exercise its great influence on Prussia to prevent the latter Power from creating pretexts for new difficulties. I am persuaded that in a very short time the effects on the King of Prussia of these continual personal interviews with the Emperor will be felt. I know you to be so discreet that I go so far as to lift a corner of the diplomatic curtain ; but our action in this business must be kept secret, for we should only benefit the shrewd and clear-sighted, who appear to be very rare, to judge from the simplicity of the journals. I do not speak of Paris, always in a state of ferment, and the occupation which these perpetual disturbances must cause you. You know all that I could tell you on this subject. I hope that this crisis will only be temporary, and that the same France which has overturned two Governments capable of having resisted will not seriously attack the Government which has just ceded to public opinion.

“ Our poor Emperor gives us no sign of life. He fears, perhaps, to displease his new Ministers, or else he is the frigid man we know so well. Kind remembrances from all my family to your wife and yourself. What conversation we shall have this summer !

“ Yours truly,

“ E. DE VERDIÈRE.”

(37.)

[Another confidential letter from M. de Verdière, Attaché to General Fleury, to M. Amiot, on home and foreign affairs.]

“February 9, 1870.

“Dear Friend,—It is refreshing to think that neither absence nor estrangement operates (*sic*) on the affection of friends such as you. We are grateful to you for the fidelity with which you keep us *au courant* to what is taking place. We have just received your dispatch announcing the arrest of Rochefort. It crossed the despatch conveying my question; and, when I sent it, I was convinced that it was quite useless. Our figure is very *convénient*, and in case of necessity might be extremely useful. We very rarely make use of our allowance from the Emperor; and, between our selves, I may tell you that we are somewhat afflicted at seeing the Emperor give such few signs of life. You even confess yourself that you are astonished at this annihilation (pardon the expression) of the personage who has conducted our destinies for the past twenty years. Is he becoming old? or weak? or is he simply indifferent and cold towards his old friends? I can understand that he should not wish to wound the susceptibilities of his new Ministers, by corresponding personally with an Ambassador who is one of his oldest servants. But if he does not wish to write about foreign politics, might he not, sometimes, give us some simple *souvenir* of his friendship? In fact, if he were afraid of offending the Minister, might he not forward his letter to the Louvre—to be sent in the packet of M. Reis? Of course this idea could not originate with himself. But Piétri, instead of fulfilling his mission heartily, is too personal to care about obliging those of whom he fancies he has no further need. Conti, too, is jealous, and would object to facilitating any amiable means on the part of the Emperor. If you see Piétri, you may tell him that you

have received news from me ; and don't hide from him the sad impression produced upon us both.

“ What shall I say of politics ? Those concerning Paris I am convinced you judge with the same feelings as myself, and often partake of my sadness. I shall, however, continue to have confidence in the newly-inaugurated system. We have often said so—we were, indeed, tired and sick of it. Having before us the demagogues, we had not at the same time the support of the middle classes. A Ministry composed of men considered to appertain to what is termed the *anciens partis* has revived our hopes. We ought to be thankful to them, and to be prepared to pay them dearly for the support which they give us.

“ I am less satisfied with the conduct of our foreign politics. The old tactics of Louis Philippe are becoming more pronounced every day. We experience its effects ourselves. Every despatch from Count Daru [Minister of Foreign Affairs] binds us hand and foot, thus rendering it impossible to derive any benefit from the excellent relations existing between the Russian Government and General Fleury. The foreign policy may be resumed in a generally expressed desire to obviate all difficulties—very praiseworthy, no doubt ; but it frequently occurs that, in maintaining too great a reserve, an occasion is afforded for the creation of difficulties which might otherwise have been obviated. If Bismark knew (and he will know) that we are determined to say nothing nor to do anything, what would be the result ? When we were sent here, it was, as you know, with the object of re-establishing the relations compromised since the affairs of Poland. This has been done. It was also intended to produce a result of a nature to

satisfy public opinion and the national *amour propre*. Our mission commenced under favourable auspices, and was being well conducted, when the new Ministry came into power: a Ministry whose motto was, 'Do nothing, and say nothing!' Naturally enough, these orders were obeyed; but our business began to make progress *all alone*. The results produced were manifest, and they are attributed to us. We communicate them to Paris, taking care to insinuate that we have not been able to do anything in the matter, according to our instructions. What is the reply? Always the same:—'Do nothing.' . . . This is, of course, to be kept a perfect secret.

"It is becoming disagreeably cold here; the winter is advancing rapidly, and, if I do not wish to return at once—and my return would be more disastrous for France than for ourselves—I sincerely hope that I shall not be obliged to pass a second winter here. Morally speaking, my wife is a little better. Mary is very well. Both send their affectionate remembrances to Madame Amiot and your children. I hope you keep an exact account of our telegraphic despatches. I shall have a tolerably large sum to reimburse you; but we will not ruin you. We shall always be your debtors in gratitude, and, with a brave heart like yours, such a weight is not difficult to support.

"A thousand reminiscences,

"E. DE VERDIÈRE."

IX.

TODTLEBEN ON THE FORTIFICATIONS OF
PARIS; AND RUSSIAN OFFICERS IN
FRANCE.THE FORTIFICATIONS OF PARIS JUDGED BY GENERAL
TODTLEBEN.

“ Sir,—It would be superfluous, in my opinion, to repeat what I have already had the honour of communicating to you concerning the circumstances which have placed me in relation with the agents of Russia. Marshal Vaillant and Count Walewski, whose instructions I have followed, are perfectly acquainted with my motives. It only remains for me, therefore, to submit to you the details of the facts to which your attention has been already called. Towards the end of December, 1856, Monsieur Grothe, Attaché of the Russian Embassy at Paris, whom I had the honour of knowing at Brussels during the war in the East, came to see me under a false pretext, and conducted me to the Hotel Sinet, in the faubourg St. Honoré. There he introduced me to Colonel *Albedenski*, aide-de-camp of the Czar, and his military agent in France. This gentleman, after having spoken to me concerning his mission, explained the difficulties of his position, and ended by suggesting that I might render him some service—by simply procuring him the books and maps necessary for his instruction, together with the new works as they appeared in the military library. To these acquisitions to his library were added others for

furnishing. Seeing nothing unlawful in this, I conformed to his wishes. It was then that he went to reside at the Saxon Embassy. Shortly my communications with him became almost daily—a circumstance which allowed me to take cognisance of the various sources from which he gathered his reports to the Czar. He began by borrowing largely from the *Annuaire Militaire*, the *Almanach Napoléon*, the *Moniteur de l'Armée*, the *Journal des Faits*, the *Journal Officiel de l'Armée*, and the *Spectateur*. There it was, he said, that he obtained positive information concerning the movements of troops; and, in fact, one of the principal objects of his mission was to keep himself *au courant* to the situation of the different *corps*, of their movements, and their residences.

“Soon his relations with the world placed him in communication with superior officers, whom he knew how to question ably on the organisation of the army, and on the modifications introduced in fire-arms. But this information was far from satisfying the object which Colonel Albedenski had in view. About the month of March, 1857, he formed a friendship—I know not how—with one of the Emperor's ordinance officers; and from this moment he came into possession of precious documents. The officer in question gave him the design and the description of the rifled 12-pounder mountain piece, tried at La Fère the preceding year; he explained to him the fusees manufactured at Metz at this period, and intended, as well as the mortar, for the campaign in Kabylie; he gave him a book, with plates explaining the manner of embarking and disembarking corps of infantry, cavalry, and artillery transported by railway; besides a complete account of the *matériel* of the different lines, indi-

cating the number of *plateaux*, waggons, and locomotives at the service of the Minister; as well as the time necessary to transport to Marseilles from the extreme points of France, an army of 35,000 men, and the time occupied by transports and ships, for making the voyage from Marseilles to Constantinople. M. Albedenski had instructions to inform himself as minutely as though another expedition to the East were imminent. It was thus that he came to know, in precise figures, what classes were under the flag, the number of liberated soldiers, the real effective of the battalions, squadrons, and batteries of the Guard as well as of the Line—documents which he verified himself, at the reviews of troops by the Emperor, by passing in front of the lines. He also drew up a report concerning the breeding of horses in France, comprising the extent of production, the distinction of the races suitable for cavalry, the line, the artillery, and military train. A visit to Saumur furnished him with all the information he required respecting the training of horses. Such was the authenticity of his information that, even before the commencement of the campaign, in Kabylie, Colonel Albedenski addressed to the Czar a report containing the plans of operation of Marshal Randon; and, later, he gave the precise number of our losses. On the arrival of the Grand Duke, whom he preceded to Piedmont, Colonel Albedenski was obliged momentarily to suspend his enquiries. A disease occasioned by every description of excess nearly cost him his life; but, as a really good courtesan, he followed the brother of his sovereign everywhere.

“ Scarcely recovered, he received instructions to visit, in company with General Todtleben, the fortifications of Paris and the detached forts, in order to take cognisance of the

weakest points, and to verify the exactitude of the plan drawn up by the War Department. The small entrenchments run up in 1831, at Pantin, on the banks of the canals of St. Denis and l'Ourq, were the subject of much criticism. General Todtleben, however, approved of the construction of the Fort of Aubervilliers, considered the Fort of Romainville unassailable, and the position of the Fort de l'Est as admirably chosen. These works, commanding as they do a vast plain and two highways, according to him, render Paris invulnerable on this side. The conclusion arrived at, after mature examination, was, that the work accomplished by the engineers left nothing to be desired, unless it were that there exists a vast space between the Forts of La Briche and Mont Valérien, which, by a false attack on St. Denis, would permit the enemy to cross the Seine and to establish parallels within range of several bastions on the fortifications between the Northern Railway and St. Ouen; that, once an opening made, Montmartre might be easily passed, the faubourgs avoided. And once established on the heights of the city—*i.e.*, the richest quarters of Paris—an invading army might with but little trouble become successively masters of all the other points. To this report to the Czar, seriously and minutely discussed by these gentlemen, are added observations on the feelings of each quarter of Paris, as well as on the situation of the different barracks, and the strategical plans adopted by the War Department for the suppression of insurrections.

“Later, the same ordinance officer instructed Colonel Albedenski to procure official details respecting the camp of Châlons, of which he gave him a plan (as well as one of the department), of the works in progress, the nature of the

manœuvres, the strength of the Imperial Guard—in fact, concerning everything having reference to the war administration and the different branches of service; the price of provisions, property expropriated, etc. — everything perfectly exact; and that fifteen days before the opening of the camp.

“On the arrival of the Emperor at Châlons, the colonel expressed his astonishment at not having been invited to attend the manœuvres; to which the officer in question made the following characteristic reply:—‘It is because, previously to causing to be executed his famous indirect (*oblique*) marches before competent judges, his Majesty wishes to study them, and habituate his sword to the smell of powder.’

“A few days after, in fact, the colonel, with several other foreign officers, was invited to visit the grand manœuvres. This visit, he says himself, permitted him to verify the reports of the general discontent of the soldiers—provoked by severe punishments, genuflexions at the mess-table, disciplinary confinement in the open air and without the slightest cover, the humidity consequent on several days of rain, etc. According to him, it was inconceivable that a camp should have been established on such ground, and in such an advanced season. These critics went so far as to assert that the Arab horses of the Guard suffered, that nothing was to be obtained in a rainy autumn, and that encampment during the winter season would kill them. These are the expressions he made use of in his report, which I read whilst it was being written.

“Once returned to Paris, the colonel and the officers never left each other. It was a series of dinners, visits to

Mabille, the Circus, the Opera, where they went arm-in-arm. I have never been able to learn the name of the officer ; but the following is an exact description of his person :—About five feet four inches in height, light hair, light moustache and imperial, complexion pale, somewhat bilious ; often dressed in a blue coat, and decorated. His handwriting, which he does not attempt to dissimulate, is a round English hand ; his style is clear and precise. Every time he suggests an order or a modification, he cites a rule relative thereto and its date. The last documents he furnished, were very detailed ; they treated of the new mode of recruitment ; of the regulation ball proposed for all the *corps d'armée* ; of the number of rifles, after the model of 1845, rifled in the arsenals ; of the *matériel* of the engineers and artillery ; the number of horses, according to the reports of the inspectors-general ; of the arms, provisions, clothing, and camping materials in store or in the arsenals ; in fact, in the month of September, he sent to the colonel a very interesting report on the moral situation of the army.

“If my memory does not deceive me, the subjoined is a *résumé* of this report :—‘Some of the marshals are abhorred by the soldiers—Castellan, Pélissier, Magnan. According to the tone of the conversation of the generals, it is easily observed that there are rivalries between them, in consequence of favours accorded to the former ; the commandants are generally devoted, but the simple officers, affecting disregard, spend their time at the cafés. With the sub-officers there exists a tendency to criticism and opposition ; they are jealous of the Guard, and communicate their sentiments to the soldiers. This jealousy is still more pronounced amongst the engineers and the artillery, who are

secretly hostile to the Emperor. If it is sought to give a reason for the mobility which imparts to the French infantry such an irresistible *élan*, it must not be forgotten that this is due to the *esprit de corps*, to the character of the soldiers from the south of France, and to the desire to gain promotion and advancement. This is only the case with the infantry—the cavalry and artillery being in all countries organised pretty nearly on the same basis, and composed of the same elements.’

“ *The colonel appeared to attach considerable importance to this short document ; but it was abstracted, and he affirmed that the Prussian military agent, whom he was in the habit of receiving, was alone capable of such an act. The fact is easily explained by the extreme facility with which his friends penetrated into his study. From that moment he locked up his papers, and continued his work at the Russian Embassy, where a small study had been reserved for him. Besides, the colonel, when in his cups, was very communicative, and on these occasions his reserve was not that of a diplomatist. I have had frequent occasions of noticing this. About the month of December, however, he appeared to wish to employ my services in a very dangerous undertaking—for instance, to inform him of the orders of the day read in the barracks ; to follow the rifle-practice at the Polygon of Vincennes, as well as the manœuvres on the ground—responsibilities which I considered dangerous to undertake. I thought it necessary to inform M. Walewski of the measures I had taken ; but I was detained in my explanations, in consequence of the difficulty I experienced in obtaining an interview.*

“ *In my opinion the rôle of Colonel Albedenski at Paris,*

proves that the Russians are not an inventive people ; but are excellent in adapting to their own profit the genius of others ; that the campaign of the Crimea gave them a lesson which will not be easily effaced ; and that, under their manœuvres, more or less secret, there are hidden implacable hatred and a thirst for vengeance. Besides, I was convinced from certain information, which was not imparted to the above-named colonel, during the visit of the Emperor Napoleon to Stuttgardt, that Russia was far from regarding the Eastern question as definitively solved.

“ Accept, sir, my best respects.

“(Signed) TONNELIE.”

“ Paris, March 12, 1858.”

X.

COUNCIL OF REGENCY AND APPOINTMENT OF SENATORS.

Council of Regency Constituted in Prevision of the Emperor's Death
—Decrees Naming New Senators.

(28.)

[Although the title of our publication speaks only of the papers seized at the Tuileries, we think we should not abstain from giving an exceptional place to documents coming from another source when they are interesting.

The following paper was seized at the residence of M. Rouher, President of the Senate. The envelope which contained it bore this inscription, evidently written with difficulty by the Emperor, and almost illegible :—"Letters patent naming the Council of Regency."

This document, enclosed in a second and larger envelope, and carefully sealed, had been placed in the hands of the President of the Senate on the 7th of October, 1869, at which time Napoleon was in very bad health.]

"Letters Patent.

"Wishing to exercise the right conferred upon us by the senatus-consultum of the 17th July, 1856, concerning the Regency of the Empire, we name by these presents the members of the Council of Regency—1st, In case the Empress should be called upon to exercise the powers of

the Regency ; 2nd, In case that in default of the Empress, the Regency should devolve on Prince Napoleon (Jerome).

“ In the first of these cases—that is to say, should the Empress become Regent—the Council of Regency shall be composed of eight members, and we name to form part of it :—

“ 1. His Imperial Highness Prince Napoleon ; 2. M. Rouher, President of the Senate ; 3. The First President of the Court of Appeal who may be exercising his function at the time of the Regency ; 4. The Minister of War for the time being ; 5. Admiral Rigault de Genouilly ; 6. The Duke de Persigny ; 7. The Archbishop of Paris ; 8. The Marquis de Lavalette.

“ In the second case, if Prince Napoleon (Jerome) should become Regent, the Council of Regency shall be composed of ten members, and we name to form part of it :—

“ 1. M. Rouher, President of the Senate ; 2. The First President of the Court of Appeal in the exercise of his functions ; 3. The Duke de Persigny ; 4. The Archbishop of Paris ; 5. The Marquis de Lavalette ; 6. The Minister of War for the time being ; 7. Admiral Rigault de Genouilly ; 8. M. Jerome David ; 9. M. Laity ; 10. The Commandant of the army of Paris at the time.

“ The members of the Privy Council whose names are not herein mentioned shall not form part of the Council of Regency.

“ In default of the Regency of the Empress, the guardianship of the Prince Imperial, *or rather of the young Emperor* (1), will be confided to General Froissard.

(1) The words in italics were added between the two lines. Like the rest of the manuscript, they are in the handwriting of Napoleon.

"Done at the Palace of St. Cloud, this 7th day of October, 1869."

"NAPOLEON."

(29.)

The Sénate and M. Emile Ollivier.

There were found at the Ministry of Justice the minutes of eighteen decrees, naming so many Senators. All these decrees are dated from Saint Cloud, 27th July, and signed by the ex-Emperor and M. Emile Ollivier. This last signature, however, is wanting in the decree relative to M. Piétri; but this evidently arose from forgetfulness, as the name and the considerations are, in this decree, as in the others, in the handwriting of M. Ollivier.

The following is a copy of the text of one of these decrees :—

"Napoleon, by the grace of God and the national will, Emperor of the French.

"To all present and to come, greeting.

"On the report of our Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice and Public Worship;

"In conformity with Article 24 of the Constitution;

"Taking into consideration the services *which M. Emile de Girardin has rendered as a plubiscite* (1) (sic) [for *publiciste*, a publicist.]

"Have decreed and decree as follows :—

(1) The words in italics (except the one between brackets) are in the handwriting of M. Emile Ollivier; the signature "Napoleon" is by the hand of the ex-Emperor. The rest of the document is copied.

"FIRST ARTICLE.

"M. Emile de Girardin is raised to the dignity of Senator.

"SECOND ARTICLE.

"Our Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice and Public Worship, is charged with the execution of the present decree.

"Done at the Palace of St. Cloud, this 27th day of July, 1870.

"NAPOLEON.

"By the Emperor :

"The Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice and Public Worship.

"*Emile Ollivier.*"

The seventeen other decrees are identical in form with the preceding. The indication of the services rendered is in each case in the handwriting of M. Ollivier. The names of the eighteen Senators, and the motives for their nomination, are as follows :—

1. Albuféra (the Duke d'), deputy, services rendered as a deputy.

2. Augier (Emile), services rendered by his literary productions.

3. Autemarre (General d'), services rendered in his military career.

4. Barbet, services rendered as late deputy.

5. Benoit-Champy, services rendered as a deputy and as President of the Tribunal of First Instance.

6. Camp (Maxime du), services rendered by his literary works.

7. Darblay, services rendered as a deputy.

8. Foy (Count), services rendered as ancient Peer of France.

9. Girardin (Emile de), services rendered as a *plubiscite*.

10. La Grandière (Admiral), services rendered in acquiring a new colony for France.

11. Lagrange, deputy, services rendered as a deputy.

12. La Motterouge (General), services rendered in his military career.

13. Leclerc d'Osmonville, deputy, services rendered as a deputy in three legislatures.

14. Pasteur, services rendered to science.

15. Petetin (Anselme), services rendered as prefect, and as director of the Imperial printing-office.

16. Piétri, prefect of police, services rendered as prefect and as prefect of police.

17. Pion, first president, services rendered as first president of the court of Toulouse.

18. Rougé (De), Councillor of State, services rendered by his scientific works.

XI.

ORGANISATION OF THE PRESS.

Note on the Organisation of the Press in View of the Elections—Subventions—Choosing Editors—Correspondence—The Parisian Press—The *Peuple*—The *Patrie*—The Relations of the Press with the Government—Connection between the Tuileries and the Press—M. Gregory Ganesco—Expenditure for the Election of M. Têrme.

(9.)

[The piece which we now lay before the reader was drawn up by one of the *chefs de bureau* of the Ministry of the Interior—Press division. Though it is rather long, we reproduce it *in extenso*, because it gives an idea of the manner in which the Imperial Government handled universal suffrage, and prepared public opinion by means of subventioned journals.]

“15th April, 1869.

“The organisation of the press in view of the general elections could not really be commenced till little more than two months ago. The time was short and the task urgent. The Minister will be convinced of it by the figures and facts which are about to be brought under his notice.

“The task was urgent, especially in the departments, as, with the exception of a very few cases, nothing had been done with a view of electoral publicity, either in the prefectures or in the special bureau of the Ministry, whilst the Opposition, by a contrary course of proceedings, made the most extraordinary efforts for the better organisation or the creation of hostile journals. It was necessary first of all to

reorganise the bureau of the departmental press itself. The subjoined report of the chief of the departmental-press bureau explains in detail the progress made. The following is a *résumé* :

“1. Transformation of the section for the reading and examination of journals ; introduction of a system of comparative reading of the journals of the Opposition and of the Government by one and the same reader, in order to be able to follow with accuracy the different phases of the political struggle, department by department ; daily observations of all electoral events, professions of faith, &c., which may be of interest to the bureau specially charged with the elections.

“This work is communicated day by day to M. Fleury, after having been submitted to the Director-General, and all the necessary documents are annexed ; it gives rise at the same time to an active correspondence with the prefects in view of rectifications and communications.

“2. Creation of a complete section for departmental publicity.

“A certain number of editors prepare each day a series of correspondence, outlines of articles, various suggestions, directions, &c. It may be said that in this section the results have exceeded all expectations. A point recently attained will show its extent. The insertion of and commentary on the letter to an elector in more than eighty journals, were realised in less than three days. The Minister is from the present moment in a position to secure any publication or any dissertation which he may think advisable, and wherever he may think proper, with the least possible delay, and according to the rules established by at least 150 journals.

“The reorganisation accomplished at the Ministry of the Interior could not have been efficacious if it had not been accompanied by a corresponding transformation in the journals of the departments themselves, and unless a certain impetus was given to it, as well as sufficient opportunity for propagandism.

“This transformation was to be carried out by means of the prefects. Each of these functionaries having in his department the direction and responsibility of the elections, the rôle of the press service was easily marked out: to call the attention of each prefect to the relative situation of the organs of the Government and the Opposition; to point out to him the places, and inquire what measures he considered necessary to fill up gaps; to place at his disposition the requisite number of men, and sufficient funds, within the limits of the Budget.

“This is the plan which is in course of execution, and the results are now being placed before the Minister.

“Figures which have been already given will place vividly before the Administration the absolute necessity of rapid and vigorous action.

“Since the 1st of January, 1869—that is to say, since the day when the near approach of the elections brought to the minds of the Opposition the necessity of counterbalancing the influence of the journals in the interest of the prefectures—it has founded, without counting special printing-offices to the number of fourteen, forty-six new journals, all created with a view to polemics—real weapons of war, handled with great resolution, and often with extreme violence. Besides which, it has reorganised the majority of those which were already in existence.

"It is true that, in spite of this considerable number, the numerical superiority of papers devoted to the Government remains none the less crushing, but it is a superiority of number rather than of strength.

"The Governmental press in the provinces comprises a number of papers exclusively devoted to advertisements, agriculture, and local intelligence—very good in their way in ordinary times, quite sufficient for the wants of the populations, and serving to keep party papers out of the field. But they are not electoral auxiliaries. Even the political papers are seldom militant. Their semi-official character, and their relations, more or less openly acknowledged, with the prefecture, has imposed on them a certain reserve. The editing is often incomplete—indeed it is sometimes wanting altogether—and this insufficiency becomes the more apparent from the aggressive attitude and electoral activity with which the Opposition print their journals, both the old ones and those recently founded.

"Methodical proceedings were taken to fill up these gaps. A brief was made out for each department. The prefect was consulted on all questions of detail; his answers were compared with the indications furnished by the inquiries of the bureaux, the declarations of the deputies, and the daily reading of the local press.

"All these briefs are in order and complete, and the Administration is in a position to explain to the Minister, whenever required, the situation of the press in each department.

"The result of this correspondence was the adoption of four species of measures, varying according to the circumstances :—

" 1. Subventions destined to ensure either the existence or the devotedness of the journals.

" 2. Subventions destined to increase their publicity—that is to say, to send copies gratuitously during the electoral period, to counterbalance a similar system which the Opposition has largely adopted.

" 3. Subventions destined to reinforce the editorial staff by the addition of new editors. ..

" 4. Choosing and sending editors, either at the expense of the candidates or the proprietors of the journals.

" This system, which corresponds with the exigencies of the situation noticed by the prefects, was immediately put into operation proportionally to the resources at the disposal of the Administration.

" In order to husband these resources as much as possible an understanding was come to with the prefects, the newspaper proprietors, the deputies, and the candidates. Thanks to the sacrifices made by these, and to some slight subventions deducted from the reserve of 50,000 francs, they were enabled to ensure in the departments the reorganisation of twenty-seven journals, and to reinforce the editorial staff by thirty-three writers sent from Paris. A table hereunto annexed gives details of these results. It will be seen by this table that three departments—the Bas-Rhin (9000 francs), the Côte d'Or (6000 francs), and the Bouches-du-Rhône (5000 francs)—have between them absorbed 20,000 francs out of the 34,000 expended.

" The twenty-four other journals, then, were provided for with only 14,000 francs, in addition to the assistance afforded by the deputies and candidates.

" But on other points where the exigencies to be satisfied

were greater, and where the participation of the administration was rendered inevitable, there remain a great number of wants which urgently require to be provided for. Such is the object of the present note. Before encroaching upon the last reserves, it was deemed advisable to leave in suspense the demands which arrived from all quarters, in order to present them in a collective form, after a minute examination, to the Minister. This state of things presents at once a complete *exposé* of the situation of the departmental press, and, in summing up the ascertained results, points out the wants to be provided for.

"The examination of this table shows, then, an expenditure of 94,100 francs, to which must be added a certain sum for the reserves made by certain departments, and unforeseen contingencies.

"There remains, then, of the first credit of 50,000 francs a sum of 15,920 francs. If a fresh credit of 100,000 francs be added to the departmental-press budget, there will remain, to meet any wants that may arise, a surplus of 21,820 francs, evidently not an extravagant sum.

"There is not, therefore, a single department the condition of which has not been minutely examined, where the propositions of the prefects have not been elicited, and where all, or at least the acceptable portions, of these propositions have not received satisfaction.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"The action of the Administration, however, could not be limited to the journals devoted to the Government. It was essentially necessary to ensure an indirect influence on the Opposition papers.

"There are two means of attaining this object, viz., to secure, in practical proportions, the aid of departmental correspondents ; to make use of the species of monopoly acquired by the firm of Havas for the transmission of telegraphic despatches in all the departments, and for journals of all shades of opinion.

On the first point, setting aside the Pharaon agency, a sort of compromise was effected with the Cahot agency, which supplies twenty-seven journals, chiefly inclining to the *Tiers-parti*. M. Cahot will come every day during the electoral period to take his cue from the Ministry. He engages to introduce into his despatches to the papers all that would be compatible with their line of policy, and this without betraying his relations with the Government.

"The Havas agency has always been in daily communication with the Ministry. Every time that a denial or a rectification or a useful piece of news is to be put in circulation without delay, it is condensed under the form of a telegram and spread throughout the whole of France. It is agreed that this system shall be carried out to the very utmost degree, and that all communications which may be deemed unadvisable to be made known directly shall be transmitted in this manner. The great importance of this means of rapid publicity may be judged from the fact that M. Havas supplies three hundred and seven journals.

"In short, every time that it is considered necessary, official notes and correspondence are found in the Belgian journal *Le Nord*. The Administration does not mention the relations established with German and English papers, their interest being pecuniary during the period to be passed

through. These relations extend to about twenty journals, of which *several* are of the highest order.

“THE PARISIAN PRESS.

“The action of the local press being secured, it became necessary to take into serious consideration the part which the Paris press endeavours to play in the departments.

“In order to discover material facts, recourse was had to statistics ; the prefects were requested to make out a list of the Paris journals taken in each *arrondissement*. This list, which had never before been drawn up, revealed the fact that, making a deduction for the *Journal Officiel*, the number of subscribers to the Opposition journals greatly surpasses the number of subscribers to the Government organs.

“The Opposition, in fact, does not shrink from making great sacrifices in order to spread, in the clubs, in small political groups, and more especially in the *cabarets*, democratic papers, particularly the *Siècle* and the *National*, at five centimes. This mode of propagandism will certainly be greatly increased at the moment of the elections. We already know that the *Tribune* and the *Electeur* have made arrangements with certain committees for this purpose. It appeared important to re-establish the balance of political influence, and at least not to leave the field free for the action of adversaries.

“The table drawn up, in revealing the considerable number of copies of the *Petit Journal Officiel* sent into the departments, shows at the same time the great importance of the use of this powerful instrument of publicity. It had already been agreed upon with the Minister of State that a certain space should be reserved in the *Petit Officiel* for a

sort of *compte rendu* of electoral proceedings. It would be used, it is true, with all the discretion which the character of the journal demands; but it is an auxiliary which must by no means be neglected. It was thought that the *Moniteur des Communes* might also be made use of to a certain extent. The fact of its being placarded might make it useful, and a note to that effect has already been sent to the Ministry.

“ Besides official publicity, the plan of action should embrace every possible means of influence on public opinion. The *Petit Journal*, which has a circulation of 250,000, is not political, it is true, but it enters into all classes of society. M. Millaud, the director, in accord with the press administration, has commenced the publication of a series of biographies of Ministers, the principal members of the majority, &c. These biographies, very skilfully written, enter as far as possible into the political arena, without passing the bounds. This journal, besides, is about to publish a military romance of the First Empire, which is written in a style diametrically opposed to the declamations and political romances of the Opposition, which are directed against the army. This romance will be furnished by the Emperor's Cabinet. M. Millaud is also about to publish lithographic portraits of the various candidates at the lowest possible price. We will cause them to be circulated by means of hawkers, who are also charged, without any expense to the Ministry, with the sale of the Emperor's letter to the Minister of State, of which 100,000 copies have been printed.

“ None of these means of popular propagandism, any more than all publications which may appear useful—those

on public meetings, for example—will be neglected ; but to these auxiliaries it would be advisable to add certain journals which would promote daily discussion, and the choice has fallen on the *Peuple* and the *Patrie*.

“ These two papers have agreed to reserve a certain space each day for electoral statistics of the departments. * These statistics will be kept up by the Ministry, who will furnish information and articles, and a number of editors, comprising at present Messrs. Behaghel and Vitu, to whom will be eventually added Messrs. Aurélien Scholl and Adrien Marx, who will be entrusted with the duty of preparing for publication such information as may be given them. With this object a circular has been addressed to the different prefects, requesting them to furnish such information as may be in their power. The editorial department will be established in Paris.

“ Another circular was sent to the prefects, requesting them to make arrangements for the gratuitous distribution of Paris journals. In answer to this requisition, they drew up a list of persons and establishments to which, in their opinion, copies of such papers might advantageously be sent. By this system the papers will be forwarded directly from the publishing office, without any apparent influence either on the part of the Ministry or the Prefectures. It is by these means that the Opposition has forestalled the Government.

“ The greater number of these lists have already come to hand, and use has been made of them in the departments of the Seine-et-Oise and the Seine-et-Marne.

“ What, then, is the number of journals which should be forwarded by these means ? The journal *Le Peuple*, which

on account of cheapness is advantageous, offers to send 18,000 copies daily to any addresses that may be indicated, from the first of May to the first of June, for 60,000 francs.

"The *Patrie*, with which it is unnecessary to make any other than a political agreement, will forward any number of copies that may be required at the rate of 125 francs per thousand. There is a considerable difference between this price and the price of the *Peuple*, and it is for this reason that agreements have been entered into with the first-named journal.

"It is difficult to give the exact total of this latter expenditure. It is still more difficult to foresee the expenditure that may be necessary for the Parisian press during the electoral struggle. But the sum total of the expenditure, including indemnities to the editors above-named, besides the expenses, the utility of certain publications, or even certain reproductions, such as are presented every day, will amount to not less than 40,000 francs.

"A second sum of 100,000 francs will, then, at the most moderate computation, be required to secure the aid of the Parisian press in the electoral struggle.

"The sum total of 200,000 francs may appear considerable, but it is, in point of fact, greatly inferior to the sums expended by hostile candidates and committees. Publicity plays, and will play, from the present time, such an important part in the forthcoming general elections, that already the printing-offices in Paris find it difficult to keep pace with the heavy demands made upon them. The Conservative party, in spite of the activity of its adversaries, displays its usual indolence. It depends wholly on the Government for its defence. The influence which it has

hitherto been so difficult to exercise over the Paris press—an influence which, above all, depends upon official statements—requires a certain sanction, and this sanction is the certainty that the Government is disposed to make sacrifices in favour of those who serve it. The idea of material aid adds greatly at the present day to moral influence, and many disaffections and desertions may be avoided by gratifying certain personal interests or desires.

“If this last assertion required confirmation, the proof may be found in the agreement entered into with the *Figaro*. This agreement, which the Minister himself directed, promises useful results. It was, as his Excellency is aware, the principal desire of the Administration, and the attitude of the writers on this journal was such that the desired result was scarcely to be hoped for.

“With the *France*, the *Peuple*, the *Patrie*, the *Messager de Paris*, the *Constitutionnel*, the *Public*, the *Pays*, and the *Dix-Décembre*, the Government presents itself at the elections at the head of a great number of organs, differing, it is true, in the spirit which animates them, and in the influence which they exercise, but all firmly attached to dynastic principles. Daily relations are kept up with them; and every day eight or ten editors come to the Ministry to receive their instructions, and during the electoral period the Administration declares itself in a position to publish daily in Paris, as well as in the departments, anything that may be agreeable to the ministry. The tools are ready; they will obey without hesitation the orders given to them.

“Situation Departmental press.”	} Tables.”
“Names of editors.”	
“Credit allowed.”	

(26.)

THE RELATIONS OF THE PRESS WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

[The following memorandum, unsigned, and relative to the journal *Le Pays*, is evidently in the handwriting of Monsieur Granier de Cassagnac. It will be borne in mind that M. de Cassagnac received considerable sums from the Imperial purse.]

Memorandum for M. Conti.

“Pray tell the Emperor—1st, That a few words, *seriously* spoken, to Monsieur de Lacharrière, Director of the United Press Association, would be sufficient to determine him to sell the *Pays* in many of the *kiosques* of the boulevard, where it is asked for in vain every evening; 2nd, That a sum of 750 francs per month during the Legislative Session—i.e., 3000 francs in all—would permit me to give, as a supplement, the discussions in the Chambers, which occupy all my space; and that, besides publishing these debates, *Le Pays* would be in a position to procure more editorial assistance, and be more useful. The Minister of the Interior might accord me this little increase. I am obliged to pay 600 francs per month out of the sum allowed to my editors, in order to send *Le Pays* to the prefects and sub-prefects of the departments.”

(43.)

CONNECTION BETWEEN THE TUILERIES AND THE PRESS.

Certain journals have entertained numerous relations with the Cabinet, as also with the Privy Purse of the ex-Emperor. The proofs are abundant. We shall make our choice

amongst the most moderate of the mass of documents of this description.

Here, for example, is a letter by M. Pinard, then Minister of the Interior, recommending M. Gregory Ganesco to M. Conti. Next come two letters by M. Ganesco, recommending himself.

“ MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR.

“ *Cabinet of the Minister,*

“ Paris, the 4th June, 1868.

“ My dear Friend,—You know, at least by reputation, Ganesco. The *Nain-Jaune* has two lines of policy. Ganesco, in spite of his past, or at least his reputation, has promised me to follow the good one and to absorb the other.

“ He brings me an article in which he has spoken so nobly of our Emperor, that I wish to send it to you. You so well know the sore point of the journalist, that you will pardon my sending this, it being of a nature to encourage this sinner who seems to repent. Many persons were struck by this article yesterday. Show it *at least to Piétri*, to whom I had explained, as well as to the Emperor, the motives which induced me to re-allow the paper to be sold in the streets.

“ It is, of course, only the passage relative to the Emperor which I approve of in the article. Excuse my letter.

“ Yours,

“ PINARD.

"Be kind enough to send me a word on your card, to let me know if the Emperor is well, and whether his sufferings of yesterday have ceased. "P."

Letter to M. Conti, Senator, Chief of the Emperor's Cabinet.

"(Personal.)"

"Paris, 30th January, 1870.

"Monsieur le Sénateur,—I have just done myself the honour to address a few letters to the Emperor, annexing the enclosed article. It will be your duty to point out to his Majesty the paragraphs of my work which you think worthy of his attention. I hope I am mistaken; but I fear that before long, from some place of exile, I shall have the misfortune to remind you both of the article in the *Parlement* of yesterday evening and of this letter.

"It is not from spite at not having had my share of the places and favours which are being distributed; it is not even sorrow at seeing myself deprived of the smallest part of that justice which is due to my long political studies and my political education. It was my sentiments for the Emperor and my gratitude, even greater than is expressed in the article 'The Fall of the Empire,' which caused me to take up my pen.

"Do not say, Monsieur le Sénateur, that my line of conduct in a journal which the public loads with its favours embarrasses the course of the Government. Nobody supports M. Emile Ollivier and some of his colleagues more sincerely

than myself. What I embarrass, and what I hope to embarrass more and more, is the progress of the Orleanist conspiracy.

"It is seldom that I ascend the tribune at a public meeting (and I do so at least three times a week) without an Orleanist emissary being there, flanked by a few Irreconcilables, to take account of the injury I might do, in the tribune of the Legislative Body, to the adversaries of the Empire, and also to take account of the difference between my talents and those lavished on the Chamber of Representatives by the *exclusive* favourite of the Prince, M. Duvernois.

"It is also true that the *Parlement* is read at the Orleanist headquarters with an attention which, for want of time, cannot be accorded to it at the Tuileries. It is true, in fact, that the Imperial Government singularly assists the Orleanists in preventing me from rendering any service to the Empire.

"The Minister of the Interior, M. Chevandier de Valdrôme, recently expressed his warmest thanks to me for the attitude taken by the *Parlement* in presence of the events which followed the disaster of Auteuil. On the other hand, for two or three nights, some simple rioters came to contemplate the bureaux of the *Parlement*.

"I attached just as much importance to the thanks of M. Chevandier as to the demonstration of the rioters. These last did me no good, and many of the colleagues of M. Chevandier have his permission to do me harm. It is logical, it is politic. *I defend the Empire against Orleanism!*

"Excuse, Monsieur le Sénateur, this letter, too long and

too sincere. I will not permit myself to importune you with a second.

"I am, with the most profound respect, your humble and devoted servant,

"GREGORY GANESCO."

"Sire,—I have nothing to fear in troubling your Majesty in your electoral impressions. Even if the result of the scrutiny had not been satisfactory, I know that nothing could disturb that superb calm in which lies the strength and wisdom of the Emperor.

"Permit me, then, Sire, to give you, not as regards my humble self, but in a political point of view, some explanations with regard to my legislative candidature.

"When, contrary to my expectations, the Government presented a candidate in the third circumscription of the Seine-et-Oise, I understood that I must either withdraw my candidatureship or resign myself to the rôle of an electoral agent.

"To withdraw my candidature would be to leave the field open to Messrs. Portalis and Say—who exhaust in each a vocabulary of abuse of Orleanist Liberalism—and to M. Peigné Crémieux.

"It would be, besides, to inflict on the population the spectacle of a malevolent opposition annoying in the present, and having no one to remind it of the past.

"To resign myself to the rôle of an electoral agent would be to bury my own candidature only to give life to the official candidature; to give life to this latter by the impres-

sion which one hundred and thirty speeches, improvised in seventeen days, had left on the minds of the populations, by the patriotic vibration which the popular mind, so intimately attached to the Napoleons, must have felt in presence of a young man who, although exposed to the annoyances of the agents of the Administration, did not cede an inch of ground to the partisans of fallen dynasties.

"It is thus that I fortified, Sire, the friends of the Government in their practice of following the Government in its choice, and brought upon myself the hatred of the enemies of the Empire, at the same time that I exposed myself to all their manœuvres. I had become the common enemy !

"Your enemies, Sire, calculated, even on the eve of the scrutiny, that the honourable M. Rendu would not have more than 4000 votes, and that I would have 10,000. I was, perhaps, the only one in the circumscription of Pontoise who did not partake of this opinion.

"But at present I am not alone in thinking that my aid, and the sacrifice of myself, have been useful to the cause of the country and the Emperor.

"Sire, a whole generation, habitually silent, have suddenly become smitten with a passion for tumult. For such a situation—a situation altogether new—your Majesty will judge if my pen and my word, my devotion and my experience of political events, will be of any use. I am at the orders of the Emperor.

"I remain, Sire, your Majesty's humble, obedient, devoted, and faithful servant and subject,

"GREGORY GANESCO."

(44.)

THE "PEUPLE," A DAILY POLITICAL JOURNAL.

16, Rue du Croissant.

Account of the expenditure for the election of M. Terme.

	Fr.	c.
To Vallée for printing	5700	00
4000 copies of the journal, the <i>Paris</i>	600	00
6000 copies of the <i>Epoque</i>	1800	00
20,000 copies of the <i>Peuple</i>	400	00
Bill-sticking—Bernard	1300	00
„ Lecrosnier	800	00
„ Albert	1000	00
Expenses	500	00
„ MM. Rolland	20	00
„ Bourcier	58	00
„ Berthier	250	00
„ Bertrix	133	00
„ Puech	200	00
„ Thienlot	204	00
„ Favre	150	00
„ Louis	15	00
„ Bauny	114	50
To Bourdon Ploquet, bands and distribution	243	25
Services of the porters of the <i>Peuple</i> and others	1234	00
	14,721	75

Received the fourteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-one francs seventy-five cents. above mentioned.

G. MORANGIS.

Paris, June 2, 1869.

XII.

THÉOPHILE SILVESTRE.

(41.)

Letters to M. Piétri and the Emperor—Plan for a History of the Second Republic and the Second Empire.

[M. Théophile Silvestre, ex-editor of the *Nain Jaune*, of the *Figaro*, and of the *Dix-Décembre*, a distinguished art critic, forwarded to the Emperor's Cabinet a voluminous correspondence, in which he exposes very singular plans, and solicits subventions and pensions. We select two letters, which have, at least, the merit of being curiosities.]

“Paris, Jan. 2, 1867.

“Dear Friend,—

“You inform me, in two words which touch me, that the Emperor has had the extreme generosity to allow me a thousand francs a month for a year. The Emperor has always been ready to assist me in my troubles, and that frequently at times when I was the least capable of rendering him any service. I know not how to express my gratitude; but I think I shall do best by begging you—whom the Emperor knows and appreciates so well—to thank his Majesty for me. The historical work of which I have already spoken to you will resume the principal events of the last reign, treat of the revolution of 1848, with its systems, its sects, its leaders, its victories, and its dupes. To the corruption of ideas, the despair of pauperism, the

abasement of the nation in the eyes of foreign nations, and civil wars, succeeds the Government of his Majesty, the father and saviour of society. Neither optimist nor pessimist in history, I am convinced that man eternally resembles himself, under different forms of progress; that there is always to be feared for to-morrow the dangers of to-day; that peoples, especially France, commence to lose their memory from the very moment of their deliverance. In fine, without awakening passions which are already dead, nor dormant hatreds, I place in a parallel line the prosperity, the present stability, and the anarchy revealed by the ignorance, the ambition, the vanity, and resentment of an infamous minority. Instead of confining myself to picturing the physiognomy of Paris, I accord to the provinces the legitimate part which is their due. The departments of France, whilst remaining more than ever attached heart and soul to the great national unity of which the Emperor is the august incarnation, are no longer, as formerly, prepared to submit to other Governments, improvised by adventurous leaders, and to receive by post flags either white or red. Paris, the head and heart of the Empire, is no more the Empire entire than a single crater of Mount Vesuvius is Vesuvius itself. Political journalism has lost its status; I have often told you so. You have had sufficient occasions for recognising this truth, more or less insignificant or corrupt, indeed, in the cheap literary press. Journals, political and non-political, are necessary; there are idlers and maniacs. From time to time, I also admit, public opinion may require the application of the bit or the spur. But serious people no longer read any but the best-written works. However profound and just may be the

thought of the writer, no effect is produced if the writing is not incisive and picturesque. It is notorious that I am one of the three or four writers who have resisted against the universal decadence of literature. Poverty, as well as the pride of my temperament, will sufficiently explain to your just impatience my long hesitation. You know how much silence weighs on my gratitude and compromises my vocation.

"M. Mocquard understood that I was made to be the private historian of a sovereign as they existed under the Old Monarchy. I reminded himself occasionally of Fiévée. In order to be sincere to the end (it was, unfortunately, my nature), is it not sad to see the history of a great reign written by daily dribblers, by envious and impotent writers? Do you recognise in this the embarrassment of future historians in the midst of vain recriminations, scattered in narratives or fallen from that tribune which corrupts our language in concealing the truth?

"I pray you, dear Piétri, to tell the Emperor up to what point I desire to show my gratitude for his goodness by my services. Loyal and devoted, I desire not only to be assisted, but also, and above all, to inspire confidence. In order to write history well, it is necessary, first of all, to be well informed.

"I have studied my subject after nature. I have lived through it all; but I do not yet know nearly as much as I should wish to know. There are in the portfolios of such an Administration, or of such a Ministry, documents which, studied with proper prudence and discretion, would impart light and authority to my work.

"What are your fixed ideas—the ideas of myself, of our

friends, of the whole world? The longest possible duration of the life, of the reign of the Emperor, and the glorious future of the Prince Imperial. As for myself, what do I require? A pen, and the daily bread of the *Pater*. Nothing more. I have spoken to you as a friend, with a grateful heart. You have understood me. Thanks.

“(Signed) THÉOPHILE SILVESTRE.

“33, Rue Beuret, Vaugirard, Paris.”

TO THE EMPEROR.

“Paris, December 10, 1869.

“Sire,

“In these times of agitation and word-coining, it has not been an easy matter for writers, even the most devoted to the Empire (no matter what their talent), to stem the tide of hostile opinions; and this is one of the principal causes of the failure of the weekly journal *Le Dix-Décembre*. Having been called upon to assist in the editorship of this publication, I contributed a tolerable number of political articles, more especially the following, which bear my signature :—

“*Political Fanatics—The Ideas of Baudin—The Conferences of MM. Jules Simon, Saint-Marc Girardin, Pelletan, &c., at the Theatre of the Prince Imperial—Ghosts—M. Jules Simon with the Communists—The Manœuvres of Parties and Electoral Intrigues from 1852 to 1869—Exiled Pamphleteers—The Death of Baudin (the only true account)—M. Emile Ollivier—M. Ernest Renan—The Emperor and the late Speech from the Throne.—The suppression of the Dix-Décembre*

deprived me of my occupation—my last resource in the Emperor's service.

"Sire, I ought to confess here, with the liveliest gratitude, that I am the debtor, to a certain degree reprehensible, of your Majesty. Serious engagements which I undertook in your Majesty's behalf have not yet been fulfilled. My loyalty remains the hostage of such distinguished confidence. Benevolent friends will contribute to the too feeble expression of my thoughts, the delicacy and the elevation of their personal sentiments.

"A little more than a year ago your Majesty came to my assistance, taking into consideration my talent, my zeal, and my complete ruin with the *Nain Jaune*, in which speculation I first of all made the sacrifice of my appointment as Inspector-General; and afterwards lost 80,000 francs in six months, in serving exclusively the interest of the Emperor, in the midst of the most violent animosities.

"Your Majesty afterwards deigned to approve of my entirely new plan of a *History of the Ideas, Characters, Facts, and Movements of the Second Republic*, followed by the Second Empire, in the interest of our country. It was a living dissection of men and things, of parties and of sects; the *memento* of our caprices, of our errors, of our intestine commotions, and our periodical expiations. It was anticipated that this work would produce a salutary effect on the last general elections. But it has remained unpublished, infinitely less from any fault of mine than of my circumstances. First, I demanded, with timid discretion, only two years to execute the work. I was pressed to work well and rapidly, without being able to justly appreciate (as I should have been able to do myself from day to day) the subtleties

and complications of the task. What a chaos of opinions and doctrines! What a mass of documents, both public and secret! What a number of written and oral revelations confided to my memory and discernment! I had to control marked personal feelings, and often verify them by obscure but truthful testimony. It was necessary also to probe, in turn, characters distrustful, daring, logical, contradictory, in order to draw from my researches the authentic position of an epoch so much troubled in its situation, thought, and discordant in its acts.

"Secondly, I should have had access to the record-offices of the tribunals and the archives of the Ministries; to be able to consult at pleasure, in my own study, and not in a public room, as a matter of prudence and saving of time, newspapers, pamphlets, placards, caricatures, and songs in the Imperial Library. Instead of personal favour, justified beforehand by my special aptitude and my notoriety, I found there nothing but restrictive formalities, merely matters of course for the public, but paralysing for me.

"In order to accomplish my work in all security, without burdening the personal generosity of the Emperor, I asked of your Majesty either the situation of the Historiographer of the City of Paris, who had just died, and who had not yet been replaced, or the direction of the Museum of Antiquities of the Hotel Carnavalet.

"Without deciding anything on this point, the Emperor had the goodness to allow me a thousand francs per month out of his privy purse, a subsidy which ceased on the 1st of June last.

"Previously, in truth, I was constantly incited by the most zealous friends of the Emperor to finish my work

promptly, before the general elections. I myself believed I should be able to succeed, but, hindered in so many ways, and disgusted, if not discouraged, I could not bring myself to hurry over a work which should be profound, solid, and of national utility.

"Sire, it is thus that, in the full vigour of manhood, of talent, and of good will, I remain with my work interrupted, without position and without the smallest fortune, and, what is worse, I shall appear to have unworthily abused the extreme goodness of the Emperor.

"A situation so false greatly troubles my conscience and that of my friends, weighs too heavily on my dignity, and gravely compromises my future. I have the firm hope that your Majesty will give me, as soon as possible, the means of resolutely and nobly extricating myself from it.

"Deign to accept, Sire, the homage of the most profound respect, with which I have the honour to be, your Majesty's very humble, very obedient, and very faithful subject,

"(Signed)

THÉOPHILE SILVESTRE.

"30, Quai du Louvre."

XIII.

THE CABINET NOIR.

Its existence—Letter from M. Persigny—The Opening of Letters ; M. Hyrvoix ; the Countess de Castiglione ; Madame Botti M. A. de la Guéronnière—Report to the Emperor on M. Collet-Meygret ; Seyssel Asphalte ; M. Place ; M. Pereire ; Lighting Paris by Gas ; Relations with MM. Mâres, Prost, and Millaud ; the journal *La Vérité* ; the Coal Mines of Graissessac.

The Existence of the Cabinet Noir.

(3.)

[The fallen Government has always denied the existence of the *Cabinet Noir*, where private letters were opened and read. The following letter from M. de Persigny proves the existence of such a cabinet, which had, as has been already seen, taken cognisance of the letter from General Ducrot to General Trochu. This same bureau also concerned itself with family matters. The Commission has, for instance, found a letter of friendship addressed by Madame de Rémusat to her husband. These letters were opened and read by the members of the Cabinet Noir.

The note on the opening of letters—a sequel to the letter of M. de Persigny, already published, on the Cabinet Noir—has neither date nor heading ; neither has the report on M. Collet-Meygret, which follows the note, any date, but the authenticity of these documents is guaranteed by annotations in the handwriting of the ex-Emperor. The chief interest of these documents lies in the fact that they prove

that the system of espionage organised by the Government of the 2nd of December did not spare even the Imperial functionaries. These last denounced one another, and their reports were all centralised in the hands of Napoleon III.]

OPENING OF LETTERS.

"The following letter-carriers, employed in delivering letters in the streets placed opposite their names, are engaged, for a money consideration, in the secret police of the Ministry of the Interior, directed by M. Saintomer :—

Hennocq	Rue de Varennes,
Decisy	„ Belle-Chasse,
Busson	„ St. Nicolas-d'Antin,
Houde	„ Caumartin,
Thibault	„ Chaussée-d'Antin.

"Their duty consists in delivering up the correspondence of such persons as may be indicated to them. They are aided by concierges, engaged like themselves in the same organisation. At each delivery of letters they enter the lodges of these concierges, leave the letters if necessary, and call for them at the next delivery. By this means they escape suspicion, for they might be forced to call at the lodges of these concierges in order to deliver letters for the persons living in the house. The confederates of the letter-carriers on the left bank of the Seine are not known. Those on the right bank are aided by the following concierges :—

Pierre	Rue d'Anjou, 9.
Orsier	Rue d'Anjou, 3.
Pinsoi	Rue d'Anjou, 53.
Niaux (Pierre)	Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, 2.

"The letters received by these concierges are generally taken in a cab to the residence of M. Saintomer, Rue Las-

Cases, 18, who opens them, takes a copy if necessary, and reseals them. They are then taken away by the concierge, and given to the letter-carrier at the next delivery. It is not known whether or not the postman who delivers the letters in the Avenue Montaigne and the Avenue d'Antin is in the service of the 'General Direction of Public Security,' but it is evident that if his aid has been dispensed with, the services of the concierges of the houses of persons whose correspondence the 'Direction' wished to read were secured.

“These operations are generally conducted with great secrecy and tact; but, nevertheless, they do not seem to have quite succeeded in the Rue Caumartin, where a woman, whose letters had been opened caused an inquiry to be made, which, though conducted by M. Palestrino himself for several days, did not lead to the expected results.

"M. Hyrvoix.

“The report was current in Paris during the Emperor’s stay at Plombières, that M. Hyrvoix was occasionally connected with the inmost life of the Emperor. It was thought at the Ministry of the Interior that perhaps M. Hyrvoix might have confided some secrets, connected with this delicate subject, to his mistress, Mme. de —, who at that time resided in the Rue Caumartin. In order to be sure, the letters received by this lady for some time were ordered to be opened, but nothing was discovered, except the usual effusions of an absent and uneasy lover. It was the letter-carrier of the Rue Caumartin who delivered these letters to the agents of the Ministry of the Interior.

"The Countess de Castiglione.

"During the Emperor's stay at Plombières and Biarritz the letters received by Mme. de Castiglione were opened and read by the agents of the Ministry of the Interior. The contents of these letters and the names of the persons from whom they emanated are not known, neither is it known whether they were delivered up by the postman or the concierge (1).

"Madame Botti.

"M. Collet-Meygret was not on the best of terms with M. Fould, and it was no doubt in order to procure arms to turn against him, that the correspondence of Mme. —, who was known to be his mistress, was read. It is not known whether the letters were given up by the letter-carrier or by the concierge.*

"The correspondence of Mme. de Montebello (2) was read by the agents of the Ministry of the Interior, to whom it was given up by the letter-carrier charged with the distribution of letters in the Rue de Varennes.

"Monsieur A. de la Gueronnière. (3)

"This Councillor of State had been in a position to cause the restitution to M. Billault of the letters written by him at the period of the first elections to the Legislative Body,

(1) Here is found on the margin, in the handwriting of Napoleon : *As none existed, none could have been found.—N.*

(2) It was "*this lady*" in the minute. The name of Madame de Montebello was written by Napoleon.

(3) The six following lines are erased in the minute.

in which letters the person of the Prince-President of the Republic was treated in terms that were now rather embarrassing for the Deputy become Minister of the Interior.

“ M. de la Guéronnière is considered to have had political affinities with M. Fould, and to be partial to him. He had on several occasions publicly expressed severe opinions as to the actions of the Direction-General of Public Surety. These various circumstances had caused it to be considered useful to learn his private secrets, which were known to be of a delicate nature. This was brought about by means of his correspondence, which was, it is believed, given up by his own servant to the agents of the Ministry of the Interior.”

Report to the Emperor on M. Collet-Meygret, Director of Public Surety.

[The following report was annexed to the preceding note, which it explains, and in some sort completes. It is important and curious.]

“ The Direction-General of Public Surety ought, in conformity with the idea of its institution, to exercise the functions of police in the Empire and abroad, everywhere where there exist elements hostile to the Emperor. In reality this is done. It has no agents either in London or Jersey; neither are there any in Brussels, Holland, Switzerland, Piedmont, nor Spain, where may be found emigrants and exiles very bitter against the Empire. It has confined itself to the maintenance in London of two agents, who are well known to the refugees; one is connected with the metropolitan police, and the other is in business. The reports it receives are rare and worthless.

“ At home it exercises the functions of police by means of the prefects and commissaries. The Prefect of Police alone gives any useful aid, and this functionary has extended his action and researches throughout the whole Empire, and has, with the knowledge of everyone, and with the tacit consent of the Minister of the Interior, taken the place of the Direction-General of Public Surety. To the Prefect of Police is due the knowledge of the existence of the secret societies discovered in 1856 at Niort, Saint-Etienne, Vienne, and Lyons.

“ After having abandoned, from want of power to keep it, its natural domain, the Direction-General of Public Safety circumscribed its operations to a narrow sphere of researches for its own benefit. M. Collet-Meygret, a novice in the governmental world, not being able to take his place by right of conquest, set about making one for himself by seeking in the private life of rivals and superiors weapons to be turned against themselves. It was with this end that the opening of letters, apart altogether from official authorisation, and the consent of the Postmaster-General, was carried on to an enormous extent. It has been already explained how this operation was carried on. It was thus that the correspondence of Monsieur Fould and Monsieur Hyrvoix with their mistresses was obtained ; as also that of M. de la Guéronnière, the Countess of Montebello (1), the Countess of Castiglione, and of many others.

“ The French and foreign press has also been, in the hands of Monsieur Collet-Meygret, a personal means of

(1) This time the name written by Napoleon in the preceding document is erased.

fortifying his position, by destroying the reputations of persons more influential and important than himself. The attacks made by the German and English press against Messieurs Morny, Fould, Magne, Rouher, Haussmann, Pereire, and even Billault, were frequently inspired by the Director-General of Public Safety, who furnished the subject for discussion. The struggle for influence and power, which was so violently carried on some fifteen months ago between M. Haussmann and M. Piétri, is fresh in the memory of all. M. Collet-Mèygret endeavoured to induce M. Billault to sacrifice the Prefect of the Seine to the Prefect of Police. He frequently pointed out to Count Bacciochi the necessity of this step, and desired the attention of the Emperor to be called to it—indicating, at the same time, the person most capable of supplanting M. Haussmann—viz., himself. During this time, and in order the better to support his projects, M. Collet-Meygret caused an account of the conflict between the two prefects to be published by the German journals, and exhorted M. Billault to be firm. Other newspapers, assisting in the same object, asserted that M. Haussmann would soon come off the conflict advantageously, and that he would replace M. Billault at the Ministry of the Interior. The Parisian correspondence of the *Times*, inspired at the Ministry of the Interior, showed its sarcasms on the tone assumed by M. Haussmann with regard to the Minister of the Interior. For other motives, and in a totally different interest, M. Collet-Meygret caused severe attacks to be made on M. Pereire and the Credit Mobilier by the foreign press.

“Such is the use M. Collet-Meygret has made of the immense powers confided to him. It may be easily seen

that the good of the State and the interest of the Emperor have not derived much benefit from them. These abuses, which, unfortunately, had become notorious, and the forbearance of the Minister who tolerated them (knowing them to exist), together with the evident inaction of the Emperor, who could not put an end to them because he was ignorant of them, *injured the reputation* (1) of the Minister of the Interior.

"[Great numbers of Prefects, who ought to possess absolute confidence, guard, with respect to the Minister of the Interior, the most disquieting reserve; they are cautious in their confidential reports; do not support or defend them when openly attacked; and very frequently join their complaints and recriminations to those of the public, who, it must be acknowledged, do not want for pretexts nor reasons for visiting the Minister with their reprobation.] (2)

"The office of M. Collet-Meygret became the rendezvous of men of all sorts and qualities. He himself may frequently be seen in places where the duties of his office do not call him. Here, in a few words, is an enumeration of the subjects he has treated and the relations he has entertained since he ceased to seriously exercise his functions:—

"Seyssel Asphalte—M. Place—M. Pereire.

"In 1855, M. Collet-Meygret bought from M. Guerdon the mines of Seyssel-Volant and Pyrimont; he became a partner with the Brothers Beaudoin, and proposed to M. Pereire—already proprietor of asphalte in Piedmont—to

(1) The words are written by Napoleon.

(2) The lines between brackets are erased in the minute.

join their interests together. M. Place, who has since failed for an immense amount, was entrusted with the negotiation of the affair.

“ Lighting by gas of the City of Paris.

“M. Billault charged M. Collet-Meygret (whom it did not in the least concern) to negotiate with Messieurs Pereire, Rothschild, and Marguerite, the new conditions which the Emperor intended to impose for the renewal of the privilege of lighting the city by gas. M. Collet-Meygret profited by this mission to claim by severity and menaces five hundred actions at the par price of the new emission, when the same bonds were being eagerly bought up at the Bourse at a premium of 611 francs. M. Pereire, indignant at the attitude assumed and the sharpness displayed by M. Collet-Meygret, refused to cede. M. Collet-Meygret then caused him to be violently attacked by the foreign press, and notably in the *Times*. Official intermediaries at length came to an understanding; the five hundred bonds demanded were given by M. Marguerite, who received them for that purpose from M. Pereire.

“ Relations with MM. Mirès, Prost, and Millaud.

“This incident caused a rupture in the relations between M. Pereire and M. Collet-Meygret. The banker made no mystery of the snare into which he had fallen, and the means by which he had afterwards escaped. M. Collet-Meygret then complained to Messieurs Mirès and Prost, rivals and enemies of M. Pereire and the Credit Mobilier. The position of M. Mirès, who is the proprietor of three

journals, might easily have kept the relations between this banker and M. Collet-Meygret secret, if the former (who enjoyed an unenviable reputation with the public) had not sought to hide himself under the protection of the latter. M. Mirès' perpetual boasting placed the public *au courant* to these relations; and it is well known in Paris that, in the numerous financial enterprises undertaken by M. Mirès, the Director-General of Public Safety received a fair share of encouragement from the banker's funds.

“The journal ‘*La Vérité*,’ now the ‘*Courrier de Paris*.’

“The intimacy between these two men was manifested by the purchase of the journal *La Vérité*. This paper was bought by M. Collet-Meygret in the month of June, 1856. The transaction was effected by M. Mauriro, an *attaché* in the *Bureau de la Presse*, and enjoying the special confidence of M. Collet-Meygret. The property was acquired under the name of M. Bordot, his private secretary, who became the director of the paper. It was verbally agreed that Monsieur Mirès should become half-proprietor of the journal; and he furnished the caution-money (50,000 francs—£2,000) on a simple receipt from M. Bordot.

“M. Collet-Meygret endeavoured by this operation to reinstate himself in the favours of M. de Morny—by indirect means which were not likely to compromise him in the estimation of M. Billault. In consequence, he invited MM. Joachim Murat, Dalloz, and Dugas, deputies and aides-de-camp of Monsieur de Morny, to take shares in the journal *La Vérité*. These gentlemen refused to have any connection with M. Collet-Meygret; and the latter gentleman immediately prepared for the sale of his journal, at an

immense profit, to Monsieur Millaud, who consented to buy it on payment of a surplus of 300,000 francs (£12,000) on the purchase-money. The scandal caused by this trafficking, combined with the opposition of M. Mirès—who was jealous that his rival, M. Millaud, should have a journal at his disposition—broke up the negotiations.

"M. Collet-Meygret then considered it advisable to propose—by M. Auguste Chevalier, deputy—the cession of a considerable portion of his interest in the paper *La Vérité*. M. Chevalier refused to accept the onus of an intermediary in the matter; he also declined to attempt to bring about any reconciliation with M. Pereire—a reconciliation which M. Collet-Meygret greatly desired. Having failed in his third effort, M. Collet-Meygret formed a company, in order to bring out the paper *La Vérité*. M. Mirès was admitted as a shareholder in the name of one of his most trusty friends, and that of Mr. Stokes, banker, London, where he had been previously branded at the English Bar. The company bore the title of 'M. Bordot and Company.' The document was drawn up by M. Dufaure, notary, Place de la Bourse, Paris. The company enjoyed but a short existence, and the journal was sold to Monsieur Prost, a banker of doubtful reputation, for the sum of 345,000 francs (£45,800), but on condition that the name of the journal should be changed to that of the *Courrier de Paris*. In the hands of M. Prost, the *Courrier de Paris* became an organ of the Democratic party. The principal editor is M. Felix Mornand, who has been the object of stringent measures connected with the law of Public Safety. The assistant editors are M. Charles Blanc, and his brother, M. Louis Blanc, correspondent in London.

"The Coal Mines of Graissessac.

"Monsieur Collet-Meygret, in company with M. Dardenne (of Toulouse), M. Moreau (of the Aube), M. Calvet-Rogniat, deputy, and others, bought, for 1,500,000 francs, the coal mines, called 'le petit bassin de Graissessac,' shares in which were offered to the public to the amount of three millions of francs. The undertaking, commenced in the month of June last, was recently completed. The act of association was drawn up, and signed in the office of Monsieur Dufour, notary. M. Collet-Meygret was represented by M. Platard, civil engineer. The interests of the Director-General in this operation were not foreign to the persistence he had shown in his determination to get rid of Monsieur Costa (Prefect of the Hérault), who had not conducted himself satisfactorily towards M. Collet-Meygret in matters political. It is not intended to support M. Costa, who is totally unknown; but we have been witnesses of the violent hostility evinced by M. Collet-Meygret towards this prefect—who was not worse than many others who are allowed to live in peace, because their removal would satisfy no personal interest—although the Emperor's service in the departments ought to be confided to more worthy hands."

XIV.

DUVERGIER'S REPORT ON OPENING OF
LETTERS, &c.

General Accusations against M. Collet-Meygret—Supervision of Correspondence; M. Fould, Mme. Botti; Anonymous Letters; M. de la Guéronnière; Countess de Castiglione; H.M. the Emperor—Gas Company Shares—The journal *La Vérité*—The *Figaro* and Mdle. Berdalle—Brochure Dayet—Recriminations of M. Collet-Meygret.

Report of M. Duvergier, ex-Secretary-General of the Prefecture of Police.

[This report completes the documents which have already been published under the head of "Opening of Letters."]

"Monsieur le Ministre,—After having received from your Excellency the mission which the Emperor thought fit to confide to me, I immediately set about gathering such information and evidence as I considered likely to furnish a solution of the questions to which his Majesty's attention had been called.

"The Keeper of the Seals, charged *ad interim* with the portfolio of the Interior, has sent me M. Giraud's notes, and a pamphlet entitled 'Elections of 1857. If the Emperor Knew It,' by Dayet.

"I thought that M. Giraud was the first person I ought to hear, before he completed the statement of facts, that he should furnish explanations and proofs, or at least indicate the sources from which they might be had. I wrote to

M. Giraud on the 30th of August ; but he did not call upon me before the 4th of September.

“ Before giving an account of my interview with him, and with the different persons whom I had called, I ought to explain how I proceeded with the investigations which I had undertaken, and in what manner I ascertained the results.

“ As soon as the interrogatory of each of the persons whom I had heard was terminated, I wrote out at length what I had gathered, being desirous above all of being exact and complete.

“ The *ensemble* of the dépositions which I received, the information with which I was furnished, and the comparison of these different elements, gave me on certain points a perfect certitude, but still left doubts on others.

“ I shall first bring under the Emperor’s notice, as succinctly as possible, an appreciation of all the facts which I studied ; I shall then reproduce the depositions which were made, together with the reflections suggested to me by them at the time they were received, giving them in their original form, which no doubt reveals the rapidity of an immediate drawing up, but which has the advantage of showing the impression of the moment, and the real sense of what I had gathered. The notes and explanations of M. Giraud present some general, and, consequently, vague, accusations ; but they point out a great number of precise and determinate matters.

“ General Accusations.

“ The first, as M. Giraud himself admits, cannot be proved.

Thus, according to him, the organisation of the Direction of Public Security is defective, and it prevents the institution from giving any good results.

“M. Collet-Meygret was mixed up with numerous speculations, some of which are designated; he used his credit and authority for the success of financial operations in which he took part; and he notably accorded to M. Mirès and to his journals a protection which was neither just nor disinterested; he used means contrary to the public interest to have inserted in certain journals, and notably the *Figaro*, articles favourable to such and such a person.

“In his answers, M. Collet-Meygret opposes a denial to these general allegations. He seeks to justify the proceedings of the Direction at the head of which he was placed, by an exposé of his personal views.

“I had no opinion to express on this delicate matter; I simply had to endeavour to get at the truths from statements plainly made; I had not to judge of the different theories on the organisation of the general police of the Empire.

“I limit myself to the statement that M. Collet-Meygret had frequent communications with the men most occupied in speculations—with Messrs. Mirès, Millaud, Prost, Marguerite, &c.; and that, according to his own acknowledgment, he was engaged in a certain number of enterprises at the time that he was Director of the Ministry of the Interior. M. Giraud incriminates also the conduct of M. Collet-Meygret in his relations with the foreign press; he accuses him of having sent or inspired articles which attacked political personages, public functionaries, or financial companies (notably M. de Morny, M. Fould, M.

Magne, M. Rouher, M. Haussmann, M. Billault himself, the Credit Mobilier, and M. Emile Pereire).

"M. Collet-Meygret protests against these allegations, which are not accompanied by any proof.

Supervision of Correspondence.

(Opening of Letters.)

"The supervision of private correspondence, which M. Giraud in his notes calls *the opening of letters*, is a point upon which he insists strongly; and there he is very precise; he names the agents employed in the service, which is directed by M. Saintomer; he cites several persons over whose correspondence this supervision has been exercised. They are M. Hyrvoix, the Countess de Castiglione, M. Fould, Mme. Botti, Mme. de Montebello, and M. de la Guéronnière.

"In two passages of his notes, M. Giraud says very clearly that the Director of Public Security had the culpable audacity to cause the correspondence of the Emperor to be examined.

"At last he explains the motives for the seizure of the letters of M. Fould and M. de la Guéronnière. *M. Collet-Meygret*, he says, *is on bad terms with M. Fould. It was, no doubt, with the view of procuring arms against him that the correspondence of Mme. Botti was read.* Another passage is thus conceived: *M. de la Guéronnière is considered as having political opinions similar to those of M. Fould. . . . He had on several occasions expressed severe opinions on the Director-General of Public Surety. These different circumstances caused it to be considered useful to become acquainted*

with his private secrets, which were known to be of a delicate nature. It is certain that for a long time past a service charged with the supervision of private correspondence has been established at the Ministry of the Interior. M. Saintomer has directed it for the last twenty-seven years.

“Under the Government of July the correspondence of the King with M. Guizot was, either by accident or design, intercepted. M. has acknowledged it.

“This service is capable of receiving different impulsions ; it may be directed into useful channels for the general safety, or it may be employed simply for the purpose of satisfying indiscreet curiosity or personal interests.

“The abusive extension and bad direction which this service had undergone, and which M. Giraud makes the principal ground of accusation against M. Collet-Meygret, is, on the contrary, attributed by M. Saintomer to M. Giraud.

“The correspondence of M. Hyrvoix was seized. M. Saintomer, M. Hyrvoix, and M. Collet-Meygret avow the fact ; they explain it in the following manner :—

“During the stay of the Court at Compiègne some journals had published unseemly articles, and it was considered necessary to know the persons who furnished them with information. Letters bearing the Compiègne postmark were the objects of research, and amongst the number were those of M. Hyrvoix addressed to Mme. Bonnard.

“It is certain that M. Saintomer ought, with some few exceptions, only to look over such correspondence as is indicated to him. If, then, he looked over the correspondence of Mme. Botti, it is because the Administration ordered him to do so. Now, the Director, in giving him this

mission, knew, as he himself admits, the relations of this lady with M. Fould; he could not, therefore, have been surprised, as he pretended to be. Neither is it to be believed that it was the short Italian phrase, 'cara Pepita del mio cor,' that determined M. Saintomer to transmit the letter. He must have known, intelligent as he is, that these words did not conceal a plot.

Anonymous Letters—M. Fould.

"Anonymous letters were addressed to Mme. Fould, in which the pretended relations between her husband and Mme. Botti were revealed to her. These letters were shown by M. Fould to M. Collet-Meygret, whom he consulted as to the means of finding out the person by whom they were written.

"M. Collet-Meygret after having compared the handwriting, evidently disguised, with that of M. Giraud, and that of a lady named Trablaine, who was formerly an agent of the Administration, came to the conclusion that it was either one or the other who had written these letters, or rather he pretends that it was M. Fould himself who had entertained that idea on comparing the handwritings.

"M. Giraud repels these suspicions by pointing out that, since he had quitted the Ministry, he had no means of procuring precise information as to the contents of the letters; he throws back the accusation on M. Collet-Meygret.

M. Fould—Mme. Botti.

"It was from the same motives, and equally unintentionally, that the note written by M. Fould to Mme. Botti was seized. M. Saintomer says that it was perhaps the

Italian desinençe of Mme. Botti's name that attracted the attention of the agents. He affirms that he was entirely ignorant of any relations that might have existed between that lady and M. Fould ; that he did not know M. Fould's handwriting, and that if he considered it his duty to transmit the letter to the Direction of the Public Security, it was because it terminated in a few Italian words which he did not understand.

"As for M. Collet-Meygret, he said that as soon as he was aware that the letter was written by M. Fould, he ordered all supervision to cease.

"M. Giraud combats the explanation by saying that M. Collet-Meygret could not have recognised M. Fould's handwriting, as M. Saintomer never transmits the originals ; he copies the letters, and then has them forwarded to their destination.

M. Fould.

"MM. Saintomer and Collet-Meygret acknowledged that this is how things went on. But M. Collet-Meygret pretended that he did not tell me, as I understood, that he had recognised M. Fould's handwriting. I then asked him why he had fancied that this letter, unsigned, was from M. Fould. He replied that he knew that Mme. Botti was M. Fould's mistress, and that on seeing the letter he had understood. This last reply did not appear to me to be satisfactory.

"In the first place, I do not believe I was mistaken in the sense of the first explanation which he gave me ; I plainly heard that it was the sight of the handwriting of the letter that had enabled him to recognise the author. In the

second place, chance could not have had such a great influence, as M. Saintomer pretends, on the direction commented to the researches and on their results.

“Both say that they had not the slightest interest in sowing discord in M. Fould’s domestic life; both maintain that it cannot be supposed that they wrote, or caused to be written, these anonymous letters with the odious idea of attributing them the one to the other.

No light whatever has been thrown upon this subject, which remains enveloped in doubts.

Monsieur de la Guéronnière.

“The supervision practised over the correspondence of M. de la Guéronnière is explained by M. Collet-Meygret in a very plausible manner.

“‘A Madame de la —,’ he says, ‘had succeeded in getting herself received at the Tuileries; her means of existence appearing equivocal, the Duke de Bassano, or Count Tascher de la Pagerie, demanded of the Direction of Public Security information as to the antecedents and the situation of Mme. de la —. In the course of these researches the letters of M. de la Guéronnière were found.’

“It may be understood that in this case it was chance that brought to light letters which were not sought for.

The Countess de Castiglione.

“In their first declarations, M. Saintomer and M. Collet-Meygret affirmed that no supervision was exercised over the correspondence of the Countess de Castiglione. They still persist in this; but they should, when I interrogated them, have anticipated a question which I did not ask, and

have told me that it was considered advisable to exercise a certain supervision over Mme. de Castiglione's house. This they did not do.

"I afterwards heard M. Laurot, a clerk in the Bureau of Public Security.

"M. Laurot declared to me that all the papers which were collected were carefully classified by himself, and even bound in green covers; that they were folioed; that several of these papers had disappeared; that this disappearance is to be attributed to M. Giraud and his brother; that the voluminous brief of Mme. Trablaine, which had been put into the hands of M. Emile Giraud (brother of M. Amédée Giraud) was not returned. He added that among the papers gathered and placed with the others were two notes relative to the Countess de Castiglione, one announcing her arrival, and the other her departure, and also a letter addressed to that lady.

"I asked M. Laurot who that letter was from, and what it contained. He answered that he did not remember.

"M. Laurot's tone, and the impartiality with which he stated what was favourable or unfavourable to M. Collet-Meygret and M. Giraud, leads me to believe in the sincerity of his declarations.

"M. Saintomer and M. Collet-Meygret, heard separately, could not deny the existence of two police notes. M. Saintomer even told me that it was one Richard, his office-boy, who went to the Countess de Castiglione's house, under pretence of offering wine which he was commissioned to sell.

"As for the letter, they persist in declaring, as I have already said, that they had never seen it, or at least that they

have no recollection of it ; and M. Saintomer adds that he himself could not account for such forgetfulness ; that he should have forgotten ten letters rather, than one, because one single letter would more vividly have attracted his attention ; in the last interrogatory he made the same statement.

“ M. Collet-Meygret, on hearing of the declaration of M. Laurot, called upon him at his bureau ; on quitting him he hastened to tell me that M. Laurot had no recollection of the existence of the letter.

“ There could be no doubt—there was no doubt in my mind—as to what M. Laurot told me. I wrote out his deposition immediately. I asked him from whom the letter came, and what were its contents ; so he must have spoken of it.

“ I had him recalled, and showed him his first declaration. He answered me that it contained the truth ; that at the sight of M. Collet-Meygret, to whom he owed his place, he had not the courage to tell him to his face anything that he supposed would be disagreeable to him.

“ This moment of weakness on the part of M. Laurot—who, I repeat, appeared to me to be an honest man—establishes more clearly than ever the fact that a letter addressed to the Countess de Castiglione was seized. It is certain that M. Saintomer knew it, for the letter must have passed through his hands. M. Collet-Meygret could not have been ignorant of it, for nobody would have thought of concealing the existence of a letter which was, like all the others, classed in M. Laurot's list. At least, this appears very suspicious.

“ At present verification is impossible, as at the moment that M. Collet-Meygret quitted the Direction-General all the briefs were destroyed.

"I should point out that M. Saintomer affirms that the order in obedience to which the two notes relative to Mme. de Castiglione were sent was given by M. Giraud. M. Giraud denies this.

Correspondence of His Majesty the Emperor.

"The assertion of M. Giraud that the correspondence of the Emperor himself was not respected is not proved. M. Saintomer, M. Jugla, *chef du bureau*, M. Laurot, and M. Collet-Meygret all agree in saying that no letter was ever seen at the Direction-Général. M. Giraud supposes that the attempts were without result. Such is the spirit of his notes and his declarations. In my last interview with him he told me that, in course of conversation, one day your Excellency had made this reflection:—'In all this there have been none of the Emperor's letters.'

"I pointed out to M. Giraud that it was the first time he had brought your Excellency's name into his allegations; that he had not mentioned this reflection either in his written notes or in the long conversations we had had; that M. Collet-Meygret had spontaneously declared that he would have betrayed the *Minister* and the Emperor if the scrutiny of his Majesty's letters were permitted; and that consequently it was impossible to admit the truth of what he had just said.

"To these observations he replied that the reflection indicated, on the part of the Minister, rather a feeling of satisfaction than regret. I insisted that a feeling either of satisfaction or regret went far to prove that a supervision of his Majesty's letters had been established. M. Giraud did not reply.

Gas Company Shares.

"Another order of things is pointed out by M. Giraud. According to his notes, M. Collet-Meygret took advantage of the commission which had been given to him to negotiate with Messrs. Pereire, Rothschild, and Marguerite the affair of lighting by gas, *to demand flatly and menacingly five hundred shares*. It is difficult to conceive by what right M. Collet-Meygret could have made such a demand in an affair with which he had nothing to do, and in which he had no influence.

"I have learnt that M. Collet-Meygret was interested with M. Marguerite in a coal-mine. I made inquiries in order to find out whether this affair was not a *ruse* to disguise the affair of the gas shares. The information I received was entirely reassuring. The matter in question refers to a society formed for the purpose of working a coal mine situated in the basin of Graissessac. The affair has not commenced ; the shares are not quoted at the Bourse. The deed was received by M. Dufour, notary. The shareholders are M. Marguerite, senior ; M. Marguerite, junior ; the father-in-law of this latter, M. Moreau (of the Aube) ; M. Levy, judge at the Tribunal of Commerce ; all enlightened and honourable men, neither easily deceived, nor disposed to lend themselves to a fraud.

The Journal "La Vérité."

"The acquisition of the journal *La Vérité* was made by M. Collet-Meygret, under the name of M. Bordot, in the month of July, 1856, for the sum of 120,000 francs ready money. M. Mirès is interested in the affair.

"A short time after this acquisition, permission to sell the paper in the streets was granted to the director.

"This journal was afterwards re-sold, on the 23rd February, 1857, to M. Prost for 245,000 francs.

"It has since that time been carried on in a spirit hostile to the Government.

"M. Giraud expected that M. Collet-Meygret would deny participation in the operation, and that he would endeavour to represent M. Bordot as the sole proprietor. M. Collet-Meygret did not, however, adopt these tactics. From the very opening of the conversation he distinctly acknowledged that the property had been acquired on his own account. Thus it is clear that he bought a political journal, representing his share as one-third, and having the direction of the press amongst his attributions. What was his intention? He states that he never meditated making a speculation, or acquiring any personal political influence—that he wished to prevent the journal falling into the hands of M. Emile de Girardin—that he thought it would be of service to the Government to publish it, as an evening journal, at a very low price. He states that the great difference between the purchase-money and the price of its re-sale was absorbed by the enormous expenses required for the publication of a journal with only 3000 subscribers, and without advertisements; by the indemnities which are always paid to the director and the employés; and, lastly, by the fees due to M. Dufour, notary.

"M. Bordot, the director, remitted to me, as a testimony to the truth of this assertion, a register, the accounts, several documents, and a memorandum. M. Collet-Meygret added that some of the members of the Legislative Body—espe-

cially M. Dalloz and M. Murat—whose patronage he had expected to obtain, had declined to accord it ; that the opposition which a low-priced paper would have offered to the *Patrie* was an obstacle to the execution of the project which he had conceived ; that he had not dreamt of remaining the proprietor of the acquisition he had made ; that, first of all, he had endeavoured to form a society for the administration of the journal ; that, in the next place, he had opened negotiations with M. Millaud for its sale, but did not succeed ; that, especially, your Excellency refused to permit its sale to M. Millaud, because a portion of the price consisted of a part of the interest in the new journal, and that thus the equivocal position would be maintained ; that, in fine, your Excellency hastened to cede the journal to M. Prost, a college companion ; that, if authorisation was given to sell the paper in the streets, it was because the demand made by the Abbé Migne had not encountered the least opposition on the part of the Prefect of Police, and would have been accorded to the proprietors of all newspapers ; that, if it was afterwards conducted in a spirit of opposition, M. Prost was not to blame, but M. Félix Mornand, the principal editor ; that M. Prost, exercising the right which he had reserved to himself, dismissed M. Mornand, and installed him in the direction of the *Courrier de Paris*, a journal of much less hostile principles.

“ It cannot be admitted that the desire only to prevent *La Vérité* from falling into the enemy’s hands, and to establish a new organ favourable to the Government, should have induced M. Collet-Meygret to risk an important part of his fortune ; but it would be unjust to affirm that these sentiments did not influence his determination. Perhaps

he was principally inspired by the hope of acquiring political power, and at the same time making an advantageous speculation.

“The books and accounts produced by M. Bordot prove that the expenses incurred or to be incurred considerably diminish the sum of 125,000 francs, which is the difference between the purchase-money and that of the sale ; but it is not established that this sum was entirely absorbed. Besides, if such were the case, it would only prove that the speculation had not succeeded—and *not* that the speculation had not taken place. The excuse thus put forward is not established ; it is, without any doubt, untrue.

“M. Pereire, who is not animated with the best of dispositions towards M. Collet-Meygret, gives an account of an interview which he had with the latter in the bureaux of the Credit Mobilier, on the same day that the Council of the administration deliberated—not on the gas question, but on the question of a new emission of Credit Mobilier obligations. On this occasion M. Collet-Meygret made no demand ; M. Pereire had, consequently, nothing to refuse. But the latter, expressing himself with extreme reserve, with marked repugnance, made it understood that the visit of M. Collet-Meygret had an interested motive. Pressed by a question, either in a first or second interview, M. Pereire, referring to a statement he had made to the Emperor, permitted it to be known that later M. Marguerite gave to M. Collet-Meygret, not 500, but 200 actions of the Gas Company. Were these actions given as a present, or at par with the profit of the premium at which they were sold ? This is the fact I wished to know when I wished to call M. Marguerite, junior, whom I supposed

au courant to his late father's affairs. M. Pereire, to whom I communicated my intention, dissuaded me ; he assured me that M. Marguerite, junior, was quite ignorant of the intentions of his father. I persisted ; and M. Marguerite answered to my invitation. He informed me that he was perfectly initiated in all the negotiations concerning the Gas Company ; and he proved this by the account he gave me of the whole transaction—an account which is in perfect harmony with that of M. Pereire. He confessed that the actions were given in order to insure certain influences which were thought necessary, even amongst people accustomed to be near the Emperor ; at the same time adding that the measures which had been employed had inspired hopes which had not been realised. He refused, notwithstanding my reiterated questions, to give more complete explanations ; but stated that he did not know—did not believe—that M. Collet-Meygret had received any actions. He added that he could not understand why any should be given to him, since he had no influence to exercise, and that nobody could suppose him to be interested in the matter.

“Another person, whose evidence I have received (M. Auguste Chevalier), declared, in expressing his regret at being called in the inquiry, that he was a witness of the indignation of M. Pereire, the day after M. Collet-Meygret had demanded the actions. There is evidently some confusion here. M. Pereire might probably have alluded to the object M. Collet-Meygret had in view ; but not to a demand which had never been made. Thus, so far as a formal demand is concerned — a demand accompanied with menaces — nothing of the sort took place. It is not clear that any subsequent secret delivery of actions

took place by M. Marguerite, senior, to M. Collet-Meygret. On the one side, the declarations of M. Pereire, however reticent, are of great weight. Those he made to the Emperor appear to have been more explicit. How could any one suppose M. Pereire capable of making a calumnious allegation? On the other side, M. Marguerite, senior, is positive; and notwithstanding his relations with M. Collet-Meygret, his declaration possesses some authority. What has been said concerning the sale of the paper in the streets is exact. The spirit in which the *Courrier de Paris* was conducted since it became the property of M. Prost cannot be attributed to M. Collet-Meygret. When he sold it, he was induced to do so by his financial situation—by your Excellency's orders, in fact—was glad to accept the offer made him, without thinking or caring about what might become of the journal in the hands of its new proprietors. At the same time there was no reason to apprehend the slightest danger.

The "Figaro."—Mdlle. Berdalle.

"On the reproach being made to M. Collet-Meygret of having coerced the *Figaro* in favour of Mdlle. Berdalle de la Pommeraye, he replied that the *Figaro* had praised Mdlle. Berdalle when she was at the *Conservatoire* (Academy of Music), and that he did not know her; that, later, when she made her *début* at the Opera, the *Figaro* wrote strongly against her. It appears that it was Madame Billault who interested herself on behalf of Mdlle. Berdalle, whom she knew as a very worthy young person, deserving of encouragement.

Brochure Dayet.

“M. Collet-Meygret is not mentioned in this pamphlet, which denounces the fact of the arbitrary suppression of the journal *La Liberté*, published at Lille by M. Dayet, in an excellent political spirit, and which was worth 300,000fr. (£12,000). The pamphlet adds that this act of spoliation was committed in order to advance the interests of an *illiterate protégé of the Press Bureau*, who insured by the transaction an annual income of 15,000 francs (£600); that the Administration had so little complaint against M. Dayet, that he was retained as director of the newspaper founded to replace *La Liberté*. The responsibility of these facts, if they are true, would necessarily fall on M. Collet-Meygret. In refuting them, he replies :—That the journal of M. Dayet was conducted in a Legitimist and religious sense ; that it was under the patronage of *M. Kolb-Bernard*, the devoted leader of the Catholic party in the North ; that the Prefect and the Procuror-Imperial attached great importance to the suppression of the journal ; that such suppression did not take place in virtue of the discretionary power confided to the Administration ; that it was the forced consequence of the application of Article 32 of the decree of the 17th February, 1852, after two condemnations ; that the Prefect had invited the assistance of the Director-General in the foundation of a new journal ; that M. Lardin, senior, who had been the editor of a journal at Lyons, and who was known to the Prefect, had been sent to Lille ; that he treated M. Dayet in a very conciliatory spirit, paid him an indemnity of 20,000 francs, and that he retained him as editor at a salary of 4000 francs (£160) a-year ; that M.

Dayet, condemned on several occasions for acts of violence, was not a man to be recommended ; that he lost his position on the journal by the intervention of the Prefect ; and that, in fact, the pamphlet he published was an electoral squib, in the interest of M. Brame, an Opposition candidate, for which the latter paid the sum of 3000 francs.

“ M. Collet-Meygret produced some letters from the Prefect of the Nord, which justify (especially that of the 10th February, 1854) what has been said concerning the suppression of the journal. All the other facts concerning this business are not so clearly established ; but the suppression, which is the base of the accusation, not being open to serious incrimination, the responsibility of M. Collet-Meygret would not appear to me to be engaged, if, in the declarations he has made to me, he had not informed me that M. Lardin had no financial resources. It was thus necessary to inquire into the means he had employed to meet the expenses of a journal, and to pay indemnities to M. Dayet and others. M. Collet-Meygret informed me that he had caused tolerably pretty important sums to be advanced to M. Lardin ; that he had rendered himself responsible for the reimbursement of those sums ; and that, according to all appearances, he would still be obliged to pay from 35,000 to 40,000 francs still due. This revelation created doubts as to the motives which M. Collet-Meygret could have had to act as he did. Had he carried zeal and disinterestedness to such a point as to venture his fortune or his credit in the public interest ? Had he, on the contrary, been emulated by feelings of ambition or speculation ? Such is the question, which does not appear capable of a solution favourable to M. Collet-Meygret.

Recriminations of M. Collet-Meygret.

"In order to present a summary of the considerations which may attenuate, on the one hand, the character of the acts imputed to M. Collet-Meygret, and, on the other, the confidence due to the testimony of M. Giraud, I think it necessary to say a few words concerning the recriminations of the former, and the replies of the latter. M. Collet-Meygret asserts that M. Giraud owes his position to him; that he has shown him for a considerable time the most lively affection; that he is culpable towards him of great ingratitude; that he was discharged from the Ministry because he neglected his duty; that, after his departure, he revealed facts which had come under his observation whilst in the Ministry; that he denounced acts which he had previously promoted; that, especially, he had taken an active part in the editorship of the *Vérité*; that he was interested in the speculation to an important extent; that afterwards he wished to withdraw his capital; that, in fact, he withdrew it, as shown by a receipt in full for 4,000 francs.

"M. Giraud replied that he had been the friend of M. Collet-Meygret, but that, having been sacrificed by him (sold?) he used reprisals; that, if he had taken part in acts which he condemns, he only obeyed the orders of his superiors; that, in speaking of the actions of the Gas Company given to M. Collet-Meygret, he only repeated what public rumour had already revealed; that he desired above all to refute the accusations of corruption which were made against the whole of the *personnel* of the Direction of Public Safety; that he had contributed to the *Vérité* the information which was given to all the other journals; that he was not at all

interested in the enterprise ; that he only lent money which he afterwards obtained with considerable difficulty ; that he never exposed the secrets of the Administration ; that he even refused to reveal them to M. de Persigny ; that it was only to the Emperor, and on his Majesty's order, that he told what he knew.

“These explanations possess only a secondary interest ; but I have not thought it my duty to pass them over in silence. The Emperor, in his wisdom, will appreciate the influence they are capable of exercising on the events which have been the object of my investigations.

• “I should have wished M. le Ministre to have completely cleared up everything which still remains doubtful, and I have asked myself if, in order to do so, I ought to make renewed efforts, and to call before me as witnesses the subalterns, the letter-carriers, the concierges (porters), designated by M. Giraud. After mature reflection, I have decided not to adopt this means, which would have deprived the inquiry of its confidential character ; besides, with people of consideration and importance, a magistrate only, armed with a menacing authority, can exercise his influence. If, in conclusion, the position of the subalterns is fairly considered, the profound conviction is that their depositions are so evasive that the real truth cannot be obtained. Besides, their revelations could not expose secrets to which they have not hitherto been initiated.

“I therefore transmit to you the result of my investigations, regretting, at the same time, that on some points they cannot be of more service.

“I pray your Excellency to accept the homage of my profound respect.

“ V. H. DUVERGIER.

“Oct. 12, 1867.”

XV.

ROUHER'S PERSONAL REPORT TO THE
EMPEROR, 1867 TO 1870.

Memorandum on the choice of a Minister of the Interior—First Presidents and Procurors-General—Prefects— Council of State—Legislative Body—Senate—Propositions of promotion in the Legion of Honour.

(38.)

“ MINISTRY OF STATE,

“ CABINET OF THE MINISTER.

“ *Memorandum for the Emperor.*

“ The choice of a Minister of the Interior is, at all times, a difficult and important matter ; but under the present circumstances the appointment possesses an importance quite exceptional. In fact, the new Minister will be called upon to take an active part in the discussions of the Legislative Body ; he ought to organise the defence of the Government in respect of the new *régime* of the press—to direct, in fine, the general elections for the renewal of the Chamber. These numerous responsibilities will require great aptitude ; the new Minister will be required to add to great quickness a readiness and dexterity of speech, and a perfectly clear explanation of Empire politics, in order to determine the direction to be taken by the semi-official press,

and to rectify the false statements of the Opposition press by *communiqués*. This part of his attributions will necessitate the most vigilant attention and the most prolonged application. In fine, in the difficult art of managing such an administration—an art which is absolutely necessary in such a department—he ought to act with great firmness, either by eliminating from the Prefectoral Administration those who are incapable of or inadequate to their work, and replacing them by men intelligent and serious; or by keeping from the electoral urn the votes of those who have exaggerated pretensions—miserable parasites—and to render the urn accessible only to the real influences existing in each department.

“In presence of a programme the accomplishment of which is so difficult, it is essential, in considering the report submitted to your Majesty, to put aside all party feeling, all ideas of preference. Necessary though it be to preserve to the Ministry its freedom of action and its homogeneity, in excluding from it contradictory and discordant elements, it is equally necessary to look for strength in the fusion and conciliation of different shades of opinion, especially if it is possible to secure a Minister who has already given proof of his influence and authority. The post of Minister of the Interior is in fact a very delicate one for a *débutant*.

“It is with a peculiarly business object that I have reconsidered all the names comprised in the great bodies of the State, and of the high functionaries of the Administration, and of the department of Justice. I will therefore review the names of all the personages who appear to me eligible, and will report to your Majesty what I think of each.

"First Presidents and Procurors-General.

"Amongst these magistrates the greater portion have pursued a career exclusively judicial, and concentrated their efforts on the study of the law. Already arrived at a mature age, it would be with great difficulty that they could conform themselves to the necessities of a new career, and enter upon their duties with the vigour required. One only amongst them appears to me to have revealed the qualification and political knowledge necessary in the emergency—it is Monsieur Millevoye, Procuror-General at Rouen. He is an astute observer of events and of men. Weaknesses of character are attributed to him, especially that of duplicity: these imputations have exposed him to much abuse. Where lies the truth? I cannot say with certitude.

"Prefects.

"The Emperor has put on one side the candidatures of Prefects, because the Prefect of the Seine would consider himself greatly humiliated if a Prefect of one of the departments of France were placed at the head of the Ministry of the Interior. But, before adhering to this objection, it is necessary to inquire whether the candidature of M. Haussmann should not be accepted. It is quite unnecessary to offer here any appreciation of the usefulness of this functionary. Your Majesty is better acquainted with it than myself. He is great in every way—in good and bad qualities; but he possesses an incontestible superiority over others, and knows how to defend his policy in the Chambers. This choice, therefore, appears to be logical, but under two conditions, which I will explain:—1st. Would he undertake

to carry out the programme adopted a few days ago by your Majesty at Biarritz? and, 2nd. Would he renounce the administration of the department of the Seine, without being permitted to transfer his functions to some person who enjoyed his confidence? The Emperor ought not to lose sight of the fact that, in order to place the administration of the department of the Seine under the authority of a Ministry, a law would be required to be passed to that effect. Now, legislation in private interests would, at this moment, have but little chance of success.

“If, from considerations easily understood, the Prefect of the Seine decided to maintain his position, your Majesty would be free from any preoccupation as to the candidatures of other Prefects. In that case, three names are eligible: MM. Pietri, Leroy, and Chevreau.

“The Emperor knows better than I do that the Prefect of Police at present in office is honest, intelligent, and devoted. He is *faithful* in the greatest acceptation of the term. He would bring to the Administration of the Interior all the laborious attention, all the experience, necessary. The only scruple I feel with respect to this choice, and which it is necessary that the candidate should either confirm or cause to disappear, is whether he is competent to undertake the duties of such an arduous office, and to confront the polemics of a debative assembly.

“Baron Leroy possesses all the exterior appearances, all the administrative authority, necessary to a Minister of the Interior; and he is further endowed with a facility of elocution and speech which would cause him to become what the English call a great ‘*debater*.’

“But he is reproached with having a weak character, and

a sort of political scepticism. Is this double accusation well founded? I only know M. Leroy very distantly; but he is evidently a man of ripe experience, who has never hitherto imparted exalted or exaggerated proportions to his devotion to the Empire. But he has now been many years the Prefect of the Seine-Inférieure; he has been constantly placed between two parties—the class of Socialists always to be found amongst an agglomeration of workmen, and the ardent Protectionists of blind and selfish tradesmen—and he has upheld worthily the influence of the Government. In exercising functions under which many give way, he has constantly and gradually fortified his position. Are not these sufficiently serious guarantees?

“Monsieur Chevreau on many occasions has made speeches remarkable from a political point of view—speeches which indicate that he is peculiarly adapted to Parliamentary strife. But is this all that is necessary? Would M. Chevreau apply himself sufficiently to the hard work and constant vigilance necessary for the adequate surveillance of the press? Of easy disposition, connected in Paris with members of political parties the most violently opposed to each other, he is always liable to be led astray; the *odor della feminità* is too strong for him; and his administration is often a series of alternatives, of excesses, of devotion and indifference. At Lyons, in the midst of amiable qualities and gracious forms, his inconsistency of conduct and administration was well known; and I believe him to be as utterly powerless there as he was at Nantes before he left for Lyons.

“ *Council of State.* ”

“ We will now examine the *personnel* of the great bodies of the State. I only see in the Council of State the following names capable of recommendation :—

MM. Vuitry,	MM. De Parieu,
Duvergier,	De Lavenay,
Riché,	Genteur,
Pinard,	Jolibois.

The first would consent to any change but with the greatest displeasure ; and there is no reason for forcing any change upon him. The second does not, in the smallest degree, possess the conditions of character necessary for the discharge of such functions. The third is already seventy-four years of age, and could not possibly undertake the responsibilities of such an arduous career. M. de Lavenay is a very capable man, and possesses oratorical talent and a love of work. In such a post he would exercise great activity. The only faults to be reproached to him are that his orders are too stiff and unmeaning, and his voice is of such a screaming quality as to produce a very bad impression.

“ M. Genteur, whose *début* in the Legislative Body was very favourable, has acquired a still greater reputation in the Senate. At the same time it must not be forgotten that his conduct has not realised all the hopes entertained of him on his first entrance into public life. A distinguished orator, handling his subject ably, he is somewhat superficial, and not always lucid in his expressions—does not, in fact, make use of tactics employed by more experienced men, and leaves the tribune without having

convinced his audience. It must be remembered, however, that he had undertaken a heavy task—the defence of the City of Paris—and received little or no assistance of any value from his colleague, M. Blanche. If his character is considered, his expressions are not precise ; and he reveals an agitation and movement, alternately opposed, which are the indications of a want of resolution and firmness.

“ M. Pinard, whose antecedents are exclusively judicial, has the reputation of being a logical orator in court ; he has already given striking proofs of his capacity in the Council of State. Up to the present time he has not had occasion to establish a reputation in the Legislative Body. As he is now the reporter on the new Press Law, he will shortly be able to defend the measure with all his oratorical force. Would it be wise to discount such a success by confiding to M. Pinard the Ministry of the Interior ? In a debating point of view, I would not hesitate to suggest such a choice ; but is this the only question to be considered ? The more I have reflected, the more I have found myself, under the Second Empire, with a double preoccupation. On the one hand, to place a man, still young, at the head of an Administration, amidst a *personnel*, to perform duties of which he is completely ignorant ; to expose him to the ill-suppressed antagonism which his judicial origin would excite amongst the great proportion of Prefects ; to engage him in the front rank, and with only a few days’ preparation, in a most important and difficult session, before his moral force has taken consistence and development—would it not rather be his destruction than the establishment of his reputation ? On the other hand, those whom one might suppose have been consulted on the advisability of such an

important appointment may, very naturally, be accused of having sought, in the midst of the Council of State, an inexperienced person, subjected to their authority, and more sensitive of their influence. Will not the critics, who cannot understand anything but the desire to serve well the person to whom one owes devotion, say that M. Pinard has only been appointed to the Ministry ostensibly, in order the better to exercise personal power? This appreciation will be entertained with all the more readiness that, in awakening susceptibilities, it may be hoped to rally the dissentients.

“Now, if I think there is some risk in the appointment of M. Pinard ; if I think that, in the Ministry of the Interior, less, perhaps, than in any other Ministerial department, such risks ought to be ventured, I do not in the least undervalue the merits of the candidate, nor the possibility of his success. I am convinced that, in following a less dangerous path—a path less graduated—in keeping himself aloof from the administration for which, it is generally understood, he has little affection—he might very rapidly assume a great position in the Council of State, and afterwards in the political world.

“M. Jolibois is still too new to the Council of State and to the Legislative Body to be justly appreciated. His entrance into public life was almost a triumph, but the affair of Toulouse is quite of secondary importance. Some time must elapse ere it will be prudent to judge of his conduct and his talent.

“ Legislative Body.

“To take the Minister of the Interior from the arena of the Legislative Body would be to render immense satisfac-

tion to the Chamber—on the condition, however, of appointing a member approved of by the majority. The satisfaction thus obtained would, however, be rather political than effective ; for, in this nest of hidden and contradictory ambitions, the choice of such or such a deputy would very soon create a formidable party against him of all the aspirants to office, whose programme is generally thus conceived : ‘ I, or no one of my party ! ’

“ I may add that, on the grounds of reciprocal control, the shades of political opinion immediately assume enormous proportions, and become causes of adherence or of disintegration in the midst of the majority itself.

“ Having made these observations, I proceed to give your Majesty an alphabetical list of those names which, in a more or less marked degree, might attract your attention :—

MM. De Beauverger

MM. De Benoist

Buffet

Busson-Billault

Baron Jerome David

Du Miral

Gressier

Alfred Le Roux

Mathieu

Ollivier

Segris

De Talhouët

In considering with impartiality each of these names, I am disposed to think that, from an exclusive point of view, only the following candidatures are eligible—those of MM. Buffet, Alfred le Roux, Ollivier, and Segris.

“ M. Buffet is a *doctrinaire* ; but, at the same time, undecided, who will never surrender himself entirely, who will form part of a Ministerial combination, like M. Ollivier, with perfectly understood conditions, and a programme as to the treatment of passing events and individuals. The first article of this programme would be the withdrawal of

the law concerning the army. We have not, to my knowledge, yet arrived at this stage of the Parliamentary *regime*, and I should be greatly astonished if the Emperor were to allow himself to be tricked by such a measure.

“ M. Alfred le Roux has frequently been the subject of conversation between your Majesty and myself. We have often weighed his good and bad qualities ; it is useless to summarise them here. Most assuredly he would be well received by the majority, the greater portion of whom would be gratified to witness the efficacy of official candidatures. ”

“ M. Emile Ollivier has more dash than M. Buffet—he would apply himself with more earnestness—but to what changes would such a versatile character be subjected : a character whose generosity is abused by an unfortunate infatuation, and in which so many foreign relations are united with political shades of very hostile and advanced character. I am not prepared to appreciate formally such a candidature. Far from following the advice I gave him, at the Emperor's instigation—to keep himself on good terms with the majority by a frank exposition of his line of policy—M. Emile Ollivier has more than ever favoured M. Walewski's hostile attitude towards me. He has chosen me as the object of his personal attacks in the Chamber, whilst the former President of the Legislative Body has organised my systematic abuse in a daily paper. I am aware that these are only conflagrations of straw, which, of course, may easily extinguish certain gratifications ; but, at the present moment, things have arrived at such a point that questions of persons have become questions of political direction, and in future must be inspired by the intimate sentiments of the Emperor.

"As for M. Segris, his nomination would give little satisfaction to the majority, but this feeling would very soon disappear. This deputy possesses the talent of speech—he replies with vigour—but would he be sufficiently resolute in the conduct of public affairs? It is generally thought so. I find that I have omitted to speak of M. Latour du Moulin. I beg the Emperor to believe that this omission was not the result of jealousy, but I confess that the work I have undertaken has the appearance of becoming very serious.

"Senate.

"Let us now enter into the *cænaculum* of the ancients, and see if we shall be fortunate enough to find a single man. The composition of the Senate presents a *pléiade* of former Ministers, either of the Interior or of other civil departments, outside of which scarcely two or three enjoying any notoriety in a Ministerial point of view. The former Ministers are M. Ferdinand Barrot, M. Bonjean, M. Boudet, M. Casabianca, M. de Chasseloup-Laubat, M. Delangle, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, M. Dumas, M. de la Hitte, M. Lefèvre-Duruffé, M. Magne, M. de Maupas, M. de Padoue, M. de Persigny, M. Rouland, M. de Royer, M. Walewski. The only names to be cited, in addition to these, are M. de la Guéronnière, M. Devienne, and M. Vuillefroy. If I do not mistake, amongst the former Ministers whose names I have mentioned, four only could attract the attention of the Emperor—viz., M. de Persigny, M. Walewski, M. de Royer, and M. Magne. The nomination of one of the two first-named would be difficult to explain excepting by a thorough change in political views. In any case, it would introduce inevitable elements of trouble and discord into the

composition of the Ministry. The choice of M. de Royer would involve none of these inconveniences. The First President of the Court of Accounts is entirely devoted. He possesses the talent necessary for discussion and for defending himself. But he is dilatory in his work, is extremely fastidious, and, I hear, would be soon overpowered by the daily work of the Interior, which it is impossible to allow to lay over to the morrow.

“M. Magne would enjoy all my preferences; speech calm, clear, limpid, often ingenious; judgment of great assurance; moderate in his ideas, liberal-conservative with prudence, he would discharge the duties of his office with that authority which can only be acquired by a long political career. Sharing his affections amongst that group only which is at the head of affairs, he would introduce into the Council different ideas; he would impose reserve on certain ardent hostilities; in fine, he would bring to the Emperor new guarantees of exactitude, of truth, of a thorough control for the exercise of the high direction and of the Government of the Chief of the State. He may, probably, be accused of a certain weakness of character and a little nepotism. I should only fear the justice of the first reproach in case of an *émeute*; and in that case the question would become a military one. As to the somewhat exaggerations of his nepotism, I believe the matter exhausted, and, in consequence, that very rare occasions will present themselves for such practices in future.

“With respect to the other Senators whose names I have mentioned, here is my opinion. M. de la Guéronnière does not appear to me to possess the qualifications necessary for a Minister of the Interior. He would have dangerous

friends in the press; he would endeavour to engage their interests; but, on the one hand, he would not succeed, whilst, on the other, he would make most dangerous sacrifices to do so. At the same time, during the past fifteen days, his candidature has been favourably mentioned by several persons; M. de la Guéronnière has serious thoughts of accepting it; the nomination of another personage will be a deception to him; and, in the end, such deception might be the cause of the loss of the sympathy hitherto accorded by the journal *La France*. We are not rich in official defenders, and it is our own interest not to run the risk of losing them. From that time we should be reduced to those transactional compositions which are often the condition of existence of Parliamentary Governments. It would, therefore, appear necessary to create a position for M. de la Guéronnière; and, as his fortune is in disorder, it would be well, perhaps, to send him on a mission to a foreign country. Would he not be a useful substitute to M. de Malaret, with the object of raising the legation to an Embassy sooner or later? Since I touch incidentally on the question of our representation abroad, allow me to keep the matter open a time longer, and to remind the Emperor of certain considerations which I have already had the honour of submitting to him.

“Nothing could be more regrettable than to leave in Paris, without appointments, illustrious political men, from whom your Majesty felt yourself compelled to withdraw, at least for some time, your confidence, and to release them from their high functions. Actuated by foreign influences, or giving way to a natural bent of character, these men, desirous of

re-entering into political life, would be likely to make use of harsh insinuations, bitter criticisms, form, or allow to be formed around them, the strangest coalitions, keep up thus a state of trouble and uncertainty in the ranks of the Administration, not without serious injury to the Chief of the State. These accusations of weakness of character, absence of energy and decision, originate, for the most part, in perpetually disappointed hopes, and in changes both in persons and ideas. It is only by these hopes that relations with journals of every colour, and with persons of no colour at all, could be sustained. All this only produces indecision, uneasiness, and disquietude. I may add that the appointment to high diplomatic offices of eminent men to whom I have alluded would be a safeguard against themselves even; because they attenuate, by their actual agitations, and the solidarity which exists amongst them, the utility of the services which they might be able to render at a given time. Besides, our diplomatic force is weakest at Rome, St. Petersburg, and Madrid. To impart to it greater vitality, a more distinctly marked action in presence of existing European complications, would be to perform an act of real utility. I will only cite one example of this dissolving action, of which I have only recently been made aware. It will strike the Emperor by the gravity of the inconveniences—I would almost say, the perils—which might follow as a consequence. There are, in reality, two Ministers of War in Paris—one in the Rue St. Dominique, the other at the Louvre; one who acts and works, the other who finds fault and disorganises everything. The superior officers are perpetually endeavouring to find out which—between these two

influences—is the one most likely to favour their promotion. All the discontent emanated from the Louvre ; and there the stereotyped expression for the non-reception of a candidate from the Rue St. Dominique is the following :— ‘Añ officer not devoted,’ ‘an Orleanist,’ &c. How many errors, hatreds, irritations, and cases of indiscipline may be engendered by the influences of this little church, of which the high priest is constantly predicting the advent.

“Let the Emperor direct his attention to all these things ; they are secondary only in their appearance. It is, above all, by interior discipline that Governments maintain and fortify themselves. It is an illusion to hope to appease or reconcile one’s adversaries ; but they are certain of being vanquished to cause the energetic convergence of the Government forces.

“M. Devienne is gifted with a certain austerity of character ; he is firm and energetic ; but his health is breaking, and age is beginning to make itself felt. I am not sure if it is not too late now to appoint this man, eminent withal, to a new career.

“M. Vuillefroy is somewhat similarly circumstanced. He is a man of character ; he has upright ideas, is impetuous, and does not want in energy. But he suffers from a disease of some gravity, which serious application to work might increase. Besides, I doubt whether he would undertake the task.

“I summarise this memorandum by simply adding a list of candidates who stand first in my appreciations :—

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1st. M. Magne. | 5th. M. de Royer. |
| 2nd. M. Haussmaun. | 6th. M. Alfred Le Roux. |
| 3rd. M. Piétri. | 7th. M. Pinard, |
| 4th. M. Leroy. | |

"I maintain, at the same time, the conditions and reserves which I have enumerated with respect to MM. Haussman and Piétri.

"(Signed)

ROUHER.

"Cernay, Oct. 15, 1867."

(39.)

[The subjoined documents were found at the Ministry of Justice. They relate to the propositions of promotion in the Legion of Honour in favour of different members of the Senate made, on the occasion of the Emperor's *fête* day on the 15th of August, 1870, by M Rouher, President of the Upper Chamber. It does not appear that these recommendations were effectual. To these documents is added a proposition for the Cross of Commander in favour of M. Argence, Deputy for the Aube.]

"Monsieur le Ministre,—

"I have the honour to forward you several documents which resume my opinion on the candidature and the titles of some of my colleagues to promotion in the Order of the Legion of Honour. I hope that you will recognise as just, and that you will submit, at the same time recommending, these different propositions to the high appreciation of her Majesty the Empress. The last memorandum explains the titles of two *employés* of the Senate, whom the Grand Referendary and the Secretary of the Senate consider as worthy, both one and the other, of honourable distinction.—Believe, Monsieur le Garde des Sceaux, in the assurance of my sentiments of high consideration.

"The President of the Senate,

"(Signed)

ROUHER."

“A.—*Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour.*

“MM. Baron Dupin, Baron Ernest Leroy, Count de Béarn, Larabit, appearing to aspire to this high distinction.

“Baron Dupin, aged eighty-five, retains all his vigour of intellect, and still takes a useful part in the discussions of the Senate. His long political career, his immense works, the well-merited consideration which he enjoys, the elevation of his name, appear to me to justify his nomination.

“The Marquis d’Audriffret was recently named Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. The career of this honourable senator has been, in my esteem, less brilliant, and perhaps less well carried out than that of M. Dupin. The distinction accorded to M. d’Audriffret was favourably received by the Senate, in which body he occupies a high position. Baron Leroy, cruelly visited with family bereavement, appears to be disposed to abandon very soon his position of Prefect of the Seine-Inférieure. Perhaps this would be the moment the most opportune for according to him the recompense which he seeks to obtain.

“Count Béarn, by his distinguished manners, the elevation of his character, and the safety of his relations, has elicited from the Senate the most lively sympathies. At the same time I ought to mention that the Count is not one of those who take a very active part in the labours of the Senate. Our colleague, for a great number of years, belonged to the field of diplomacy, and he invokes the services he rendered whilst discharging such functions. I possess no information to enable me to appreciate his claims. M. de Béarn has not, I believe, occupied the post of ambassador.

“(Signed)

ROUHER.”

“ B.—*Grand Officers.*

“ The number of Commanders of the Order in the Senate is not less than thirty. I ought to designate, in the first place, as worthy of being promoted to the grade of Grand Officer in the Legion of Honour, M. Leroy de Saint-Arnaud, Commander since 1859. This nomination would assuredly have been recommended, some years ago, by M. Troplong ; but certain embarrassments of fortune—the cause of which was, however, honourable : a suit respecting his responsibility, which M. de Saint-Arnaud lost before the Tribunal of First Instance—appeared to my illustrious predecessor a sufficient cause for adjournment. This cause has since been greatly extenuated or has entirely disappeared ; our colleague has now resumed his former position—he has been discharged, by the Court of Appeal, from the penalties pronounced against him by the Tribunal of Commerce (1). His titles as a Senator, therefore, maintain all their force. Now, M. de Saint-Arnaud is one of the most laborious men in the Senate ; he is indefatigable in his examination of, and reports on, petitions ; his works are remarkable ; and he is an able orator. His nomination to the grade of Grand Officer will be considered by the Senate as a just, if tardy, recompense for his eminent services.

“ In the second place might figure M. Réveil, former Vice-President of the Legislative Body, Commander since 1859 ; Senator since. M. Réveil enjoys great consideration amongst his colleagues ; his works are esteemed.

“ (Signed) ROUHER.”

(1.) M. Rouher appears to ignore in this document that the judgment of the Court of Appeal which discharges M. de Saint-Arnaud is appealed against before the Court of Cassation ; and that the appeal has not yet been heard.

“C.—*Commanders.*

“There are nine Officers of the Legion of Honour in the Senate. The three senators who have had this grade the longest are :—Count Monier de la Sizeranne, appointed 18th December, 1855 ; the Duke de Tarente, officer since June 16th, 1856 ; and M. de Gricourt, whose nomination dates from the 5th January, 1858. M. de la Sizeranne is the one who, by his long political career, possesses the greatest claims to the promotion to the grade of Commander. The Duke de Tarente was named Senator too recently. If he possessed any title to promotion in the Legion, it could only be as Chamberlain. M. de Gricourt recommends himself by his absolute devotion to the Emperor—a devotion which dates many years previously to the establishment of the Second Empire. He occupies a worthy position in the Senate.

“(Signed) ROUHER.”

“D.—*Officers.*

“Only two senators—the Prince de Wagram, and M. de Montjoyeux—are Knights of the Legion of Honour. The candidature of the Prince de Wagram has for many years been placed on one side for reasons which it is useless here to recapitulate. The Prince, besides, takes no part in the deliberations of the Senate ; he did not even make his appearance on the solemn occasion of the closing of the session. M. de Montjoyeux has been a Knight since 1860. He merits promotion to the grade of officer in consequence of his age, his devotion, and his enlightenment.

“(Signed) ROUHER.”

XVI.

MEXICO.—THE JECKER BONDS.

M. Jecker's account of the Mexican Bonds—The Duke de Morny's interest in them—Attempts to settle M. Jecker's affairs—His financial difficulties—Opposition of his creditors—The Mexican Mixed Commission—Threat to divulge the whole secret—Letter from Maximilian to Napoleon—The appointment of M. Langlais to the Ministry of Finance—The situation is perplexing—Maximilian is uneasy.

*Letter from Monsieur J. B. Jecker to Monsieur Conti,
Secretary to the Emperor.*

[In the following document M. Jecker explains the causes of the Mexican expedition.]

“ Paris, December 8, 1869.

“ Sir,—Do not consider it strange that I should address myself to you in preference ; I am compelled to call your attention to matters especially regarding the Emperor. You will have heard sufficient talk concerning the affair of the Mexican Bonds to understand it a little. Well, I find that the Government consider this matter with too much indifference ; and that, if more immediate attention is not paid to it, lamentable results may follow to the Emperor.

“ No doubt you are ignorant that the Duke de Morny was associated with me in this business, and that he, in consideration of 30 per cent., undertook to have the agreement respected, and the sum paid by the Mexican Government. On this subject a voluminous correspondence

has been exchanged between the Duke and his agent, Monsieur de Marpon. In January, 1861, agents from these gentlemen came to me with the object of treating on this subject. The arrangement was made at the time my house was in a state of insolvency, and when all payments were expected to be made for the benefit of my creditors.

“As soon as the arrangement was concluded, I was perfectly maintained by the French Government and its Legation in Mexico. The latter even assured my creditors, in the name of the French Government, that they would be paid in their entirety, and had sent strong representations to the Government concerning the carrying out of my contract—in the sense that the Ultimatum of 1862 called for the execution, pure and simple, of the decrees. Since that time I have been perpetually exposed to the hatred of the extreme party, who threw me into prison, afterwards banished me, and confiscated my property.

“Matters remained thus up to the occupation of Mexico by the French troops. Under the Empire of Maximilian, and on the repeated representations of the French Government, efforts were again made to settle my affair. In April, 1863, I succeeded, with the assistance of French agents, in concluding a transaction with the Mexican Government. At the same period the Duke de Morny died, so that the striking protection accorded me by the French Government entirely ceased. The French Minister of Finance, indeed, permitted the payment of the first promissory notes the Mexican Government had given me, to cover a portion of what was due to me; but the French agents in Mexico made opposition, in accordance with the instructions they had received, to the delivery to me of the ten millions of

promissory notes in payment of my transaction, and which the Mexican Government was disposed to pay me, possessing as it did, at this epoch, more than thirty millions of francs in Paris. As the French Government had declared to the Chambers that it was opposed to the execution of this contract, and had applied to its own purposes the money which ought to have been paid to me, I was obliged, as liquidator of my house, and after having exhausted every means of conciliation, to bring an action against the Government before the Council of State. Unfortunately, this step produced no result whatever, for the tribunal has just declared itself incompetent after the explanations given to it by the Minister of Finance.

“I was also one of the heaviest of the Mexican creditors. The Mixed Commission established at Mexico had recognised a balance due to me of about six millions of francs, which had been reduced to 500,000 francs. I have claimed the difference from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who has not hitherto deigned to reply to my demand. But in future I expect the negative answer given me by the Minister of Finance concerning the Mexican Bonds.

“Some of my creditors, seeing that I obtained nothing from the Government of my principal demands, have put in opposition at the *Dépôt des Consignations* against the sum due to me of the 500,000 francs mentioned above, in consequence of which I have only been able to dispose of a very small sum to meet the immediate and pressing wants of my house. Completely ruined by the Mexican expedition, having nothing more to do here, and not being able to do anything, I am obliged to return, in order to give an account of my affairs to my creditors. Although I have

neglected nothing in my endeavours to pay what I owe in its entirety, as I have not succeeded, in consequence of circumstances over which I had no control, they will not take into account all the enormous sacrifices I have made in order to do so, and will treat me without the slightest consideration. They will require to know the reason which, in 1861, induced M. de Saligny, then French Minister at Mexico, to promise them, in the name of his country, that they would be paid the sums due to them from my house ; and why, in 1863, this extraordinary protection was so hastily withdrawn by the French Government.

“ Although, up to the present time, I have kept the whole affair the most profound secret—notwithstanding that I have been strongly urged to publish it—I shall be obliged to defend myself in order not to be thrown into prison for debt. I am compelled to inform my creditors of what has taken place in delivering over to them the sum I have already spoken of, and which they will in any case claim, as pertaining to my liquidation. The Mexican Government will be delighted to know the bottom of the affair, as a guide to its future conduct towards France. I can easily imagine the effect such a confession would produce on the public mind, and the injury it would cause to the Emperor’s Government, especially under the present critical circumstances ; but I cannot prevent it—at least, unless means are afforded me to make a proposition to my creditors, and thus prevent the necessity of giving a full account of my liquidation, which they are sure to demand. This would be all the more easy for me, as, amongst the properties which the Mexican Government has not hitherto been able to seize, in consequence of the intervention of my creditors, who

demand everything belonging to me as due to them, the liquidators still possess mines and ironworks which they have not been able to utilise, in consequence of their extreme penury ; but which, with sufficient funds, would return immense profit, and would, in fact, cover the whole of the debts—especially now that apparatus have been perfected in Germany to concentrate the minerals, the profits to be obtained would thus be out of all proportion with those under the old system of mining employed in Mexico.

“Not doubting that, in your interest for the Emperor, you will have the goodness to communicate these just observations to him, I beg you, sir, to receive the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

“J. B. JECKER.”

Letter from Maximilian to Napoleon.

[The newly-installed Emperor of Mexico thanks Napoleon for his protection, and regards the appointment of M. Langlais to the Ministry of Finance as a good omen for the future. The situation is already becoming perplexing ; Maximilian is uneasy. His letter, however, expresses a certain amount of confidence.]

“Monsieur mon Frère,—It is with lively pleasure and a sentiment of real gratitude that I receive, by M. Langlais, your Majesty’s gracious letter of the 29th of August. The good counsels of a sincere friend which your Majesty gives me, with that remarkable lucidity which characterises you, are very precious to me ; they are given by the greatest sovereign of our age, who is certainly the best judge of the intricate questions which are now occupying the Govern-

ment of Mexico. If M. Langlais enjoys the confidence of your Majesty, such a worthy statesman may be sure of mine. His assistance is more than necessary to me, for the greatest difficulty of such a position is the complete want of useful instruments.

“Monsieur Langlais, as Minister of Finance, will have occasion to make known to your Majesty the real situation ; it is perplexing, but not hopeless. It is the war which is eating up all our resources ; the other branches of the Administration cost less than in any other country. As to the expenses of the war, it is those miserable auxiliary troops, which the Marshal believes to be absolutely necessary, which cost exorbitant sums, and which, in my opinion, are of very little use. In other departments of the Administration, almost parsimony is the order of the day. The changes effected in my Ministry will show you that the most complete harmony and honest and useful men are sought.

“M. Dano has written to his Minister, informing him that the claims have been definitively arranged on bases which Mexican gratitude towards France dictated to us.

“M. Dano and the Marshal have likewise informed your Majesty's Government of the great circumspection used in all delicate questions relative to our neighbours. The news we have received from Washington is reassuring, and the sincere friendship of your Majesty gives me that firm confidence in the future which alone would render possible so difficult a task.

“During the last few days our work of political Administration and judicial organisation, based on the statute

of the 10th of April, has been terminated, and will appear in a short time in several volumes.

"I hope to be able to send this work to your Majesty by the next French courier. I have given up the idea of a journey to Yucatan, where the Empress will go alone, in order that I may assiduously set to work with M. Langlais, who has already won my sympathy. The Marshal has sent you the Draconian law which I was forced to make against the guerilleros; the result of this law will be favourable.

"This scourge of the country would long since have been got rid of but for the want of troops.

"I beg your Majesty to remember me kindly to the Empress, and to believe in the sentiment of high esteem and sincere friendship with which I am,

"Your Majesty's good brother,

"MAXIMILIAN.

"Chapultepec, 20th October, 1865. .

"P. S.—I learn at this moment that M. Langlais will not accept the portfolio of Minister of Finance before referring the matter directly to your Majesty. The motives which he alleges for declining for the present the official position which I had conferred upon him, seem to me of so delicate a nature, that I think it my duty to beg your Majesty to be arbitrator in the scrupulous inquiry into the expenditure since I have been at the head of the Government. The reports which M. Langlais will successively send to your Majesty will demonstrate the justness of my request."

XVII.

IMPERIAL PURSE.

Receipts for accounts charged upon the Imperial Purse—Bon-bons for General de Failly—The cost of a christening—Various lists of payments—Secret Funds—Personal Estate of the Emperor abroad—Heavy debt contracted by Louis Bonaparte in 1848—Sums received by Madame de Montijo—Civil List.

(25.)

IMPERIAL PURSE.

[Subjoined are a few receipts, with some accounts charged upon the Imperial Purse. They are only specimens. Numerous other similar documents will follow. The list of persons who received pensions from the Emperor's Privy Purse varies but little, and from month to month the greater part of the bills resemble each other. When one pensioner died, the same sum is simply transferred *to the account of the said pensioner's successor*. The subjoined documents are composed:—1st. Of the expenses from the Emperor's Privy Purse during the months of April, 1868, and April and May, 1870. 2nd. Of the sums to be paid out of the private fortune of the Emperor, from January to July, 1865; from July, 1868, to January, 1869; and from January to July, 1869. We give simply those of March and May, 1865, which contain some items not indicated in the general account. 3rd. An isolated account, signed by a person whose name is not to be found on the lists.]

(23.)

BILL FOR BON-BONS PAID BY NAPOLEON FOR GENERAL DE
FAILY.*Gouache, Confectioner to the Emperor.*

Paris, May 20, 1858.

Supplied to H.M. the Emperor:—

	Francs.
12 dozen half-boxes of sweetmeats, at 18 fr.	216
Sent to General de Faily 20, Rue de Ponthieu.	
Settled,	
L. GOUACHE.	

..

A memorandum follows in pencil—probably a recapitulation of other similar bills:—

	Francs.
" April 16th	216
" May 9th	432
" June 3rd	216
" December 1st	216
" May 20th	216
	1296

(24.)

THE COST OF A CHRISTENING.

Birth and Baptism of the Prince Imperial.

	Francs.
Diamond Locketts	25,000
Allowances to Doctors	62,000
Midwife	6,000
The Society of Dramatic Authors	10,000
Men of Letters	10,000
Dramatic Artists	10,000
Musicians	10,000

L

Painters, Sculptors, &c.	...	...	...	...	10,000
Industrial Inventors	...	...	...	...	10,000
Doctors in Department of Seine	..	...	...	...	10,000
Charitable Societies of the Seine, and the parishes where the Crown furniture is situated	...	...	...	...	93,000
Baby's Outfit	...	...	...	...	100,000
Present of four months' salary to the Empress's servants	...	...	...	...	11,000
Free Theatrical representations, March 18, 1856	...	...	...	...	44,000
Assistance to parents who had children born on the 16th	...	...	...	...	50,000
Medals to authors of pieces of music and verses addressed to their Imperial Majesties ; medals for the troops and college students	...	...	...	...	85,000
Notices addressed to the parents of their Majesties' god- children	...	...	...	...	20,000
Cortège, &c.	...	...	...	...	172,000
Presents to their Majesties' supernumeraries	...	...	...	...	160,000
Total	...	...	...	...	<u>898,000</u>

THE EMPEROR'S PRIVY PURSE.

Palais of the Tuileries, April , 18 .

113

87

200 (1)

Estimate for the month of April, 1868.

	Francs.
Works of the Dombes, 4th instalment	35,000
M. Dusantoy, balance	25,000
Baron David, for April	3,000
M. Silvestre (2), ditto	1,000
M. Daux, ditto	1,000
Commandant de Reffye (3), ditto	2,000
„ „ in addition	4,000

(1) In the Emperor's handwriting.

(2) M. Théophile Silvestre, many of whose letters and receipts are found among the Imperial papers.

(3) Commandant de Reffye was a staff-officer, who assisted the Emperor in the invention of the mitrailleuse.

THE EMPEROR'S PRIVY PURSE.

147

Cathedral of Sens, ornaments	...	...	...	...	10,000
M. de Roucy, first instalment on 6000 francs	...	...	...	...	2,000
Bapot's Bill	...	...	...	...	7,675
To provide for current expenses	...	...	...	...	9,325
Total	...	...	...	...	100,000
Cheque for April	...	...	...	...	50,000
To be added	...	...	...	...	50,000
Nett sum	...	...	...	...	100,000

THE EMPEROR'S PRIVY PURSE.

Palace of the Tuileries, April, 1870.

Estimate for the month of April, 1870.

	Francs.
Marquise Campana, second and third payments	20,000
Baron David, supplementary sum in March	10,000
" " for April	3,000
Commandant de Reffye, supplementary sum in March	10,000
" " for April	2,000
M. Bachon, fourth payment on account of 72,000fr.	6,000
Antique vases for St. Germain, second payment on account of 16,000fr.	4,000
M. de Roucy, at Compiègne, on 4000fr.	2,000
Annals of the Empire, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth instalments on 6000fr.	2,000
Dick's bill, soup-cans for the troops...	2,300
Baugrand, the jeweller's bill	4,500
School of Saint-Cloud..	2,000
Ball of the 18th arrondissement of Paris	1,000
Ball of dramatic artists	1,000
Festival of Berlioz	1,000
	90,000
To provide for current expenses	14,200
Total	105,000

March 1, received of the Emperor	...	...	...	10,000
March 3, the Emperor remitted to Commandant Reffye				10,000
March 12, received of the Emperor	...	...	...	10,000
Cheque for April	...	...	...	50,000
To be added	...	...	...	25,000
Nett sum	..	...	...	105,000

THE EMPEROR'S PRIVY PURSE.

Palace of the Tuileries, May 18, 1870.

Estimate for the month of May, 1870.

Marquise Campana, fourth payment	...	...	...	10,000
M. Granier de Cassagnac, second instalment on 160,000fr.				16,000
M. Bachon, fifth instalment on 72,000fr.	...	...	...	6,000
Baron David, for May	...	...	...	3,000
Commandant de Reffye, for May	...	...	...	2,000
Antique vases for Saint-Germain, third instalment 'on 16,000fr.	...	...	...	4,000
Annals of the Empire, ninth and tenth instalments on 6,000fr.	...	...	...	1,000
Baron Silouët	...	...	...	5,000
M. Le Faure, works of Vichy	...	...	...	3,000
Two bills, Lejeune, photographer	...	...	...	3,000
„ Bapot, jeweller	...	...	...	6,190
„ Dumoret, do.	...	...	...	4,500
„ Baugrand, do.	...	...	...	3,000
„ Maurice Mayer, goldsmith	...	...	...	1,600
„ Poussielque, do.	...	...	...	3,175
„ Lepaute, watchmaker	...	...	...	1,807
British Charitable Fund	...	...	...	1,000
Wounded of the land and sea forces	...	...	...	1,000
				75,302
To provide for current expenses	...	...	...	14,698
Total	...	...	...	90,000
Cheque for May	...	...	...	50,000
To be added	...	...	...	40,000
Nett sum	...	...	...	90,000

SECRET FUNDS.

[The following is an account, without details, of the manner in which the Secret Funds were distributed by the Imperial Government.]

Credit	...	...	2,000,000 francs.	Francs.
Article 1:—Expenses of Police from the Prefecture of Police	...	...	...	600,000
„ 2.—Expenses of Police of the Prefects in the Departments (Bouches-du-Rhone, Rhone, Nord, Gironde, &c.)	...	...	...	223,400
„ 3.—Military and Civil Police	...	...	...	67,600
„ 4.—Service of the Press, General Expenses, Journals, &c.	...	...	...	297,540
„ 5.—Indemnity for assistance, and private grants...	...	...	...	255,860
„ 6.—Periodical submissions for engagement	...	...	...	78,850
				1,523,250
Remaining at the disposition of the Minister	...	...	...	487,850
			Total	...
				2,000,000

[The following letter was found amongst the documents and receipts appertaining to the Imperial Purse.]

“ Paimbœuf, June 16, 1870.

“ Sire,—In 1867, I was at an entertainment at Philadelphia, where you were insulted. I performed my duty ; and, anxious that France and he who governs it should be respected, I paid, Sire, to Michael Bouvier, who pretended to be one of your creditors, the sum of 1500 francs for furniture supplied to you during your residence in America. The receipt for this sum is enclosed. I beg your Majesty to be persuaded that I am not asking for the sum : first of all, I am incapable of such a thing ; next, I would not be guilty of such meanness. My only desire is to know whether I have not been duped by an infamous rogue.

" I have the honour to be, Sire, with profound respect,
your Majesty's very humble and very devoted subject,

" HIPPOLYTE HARANCHIY DE ROSTAING."

[To the above letter is added the following note.]

" Received from M. Hippolyte Haranchipy the sum of
1500 francs, on account of Louis Napoleon, Emperor of the
French.

" MICHEL BOUVIER.

" Philadelphia, March 28, 1867."

(40.)

PERSONAL ESTATE OF THE EMPEROR ABROAD.

From 1852 to 1866, and probably up to the end of his reign, Napoleon III. had an account with Baring Brothers, bankers at London. The annual memoranda establishing the balance of this account present no remarkable interest—a tolerably large number of orders for Madame Walewski and Madame de Cadore, different purchases, and disbursement of quite moderate sums. The memorandum of the 31st December, 1852, bears, however, evident traces of the *coup d'état*. It carries to the credit of the State a sum of £767 sterling, the remainder of £36,370 16s. But the most precious document furnished by the Messrs. Baring's account is the following, left by mistake, no doubt, in the account of December, 1866. It is drawn up in English:—

		£
Russian 5 per Cents. (1822)	...	50,000
" "	...	50,000
" 8 per Cents. ...	...	50,000
Turkish 6 ,, (1858)	...	100,000

Peruvian 4½	„	(Old)	...	80,000
„ 4½	„	(New)	...	52,000
Canada 6	„	...	...	50,000
Brazilian 4½	„	...	...	50,000
Egyptian 7	„	...	...	50,000
American 8	„	...	...	100,000
Mississippi 6	„	...	...	25,000
Diamonds...	...	...	...	200,000
Uniforms ...	...	...	...	16,000
				873,000
Beaujon ...	...	...	...	60,000
Total ...	..	...	£933,000	

[Everything is not explained in this document. What are the *uniforms* for £16,000 sterling? As for “Beaujon” (£60,000), it is, no doubt, the price of land sold to or bought from the painter Gudin. Whatever may be the explanation, the fact of 23,325,000fr. being *economised* (on the Civil List, no doubt) and placed in security does not appear the less indisputable.]

(49.)

[The three following letters relate to a heavy debt contracted by the Pretender Louis Bonaparte in 1848, which was not paid until after the *coup d'état*.]

“Genoa, Nov. 16, 1850.

“Monsieur,

“In the month of July last I received a letter, in which you expressed the desire of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to reimburse me, at Paris, the sum of 60,000 Roman crowns—viz., 324,000 francs of the loan I made him in the year 1848, with the mortgage on the Prince's domains

situated near Civit -Nova, in the Roman States. Being in Tuscany at this period, I wrote to my agent at Genoa, M. Arado, to reply to you in my name, and to desire you to ask the Prince if he would feel inclined to consent to hold the sum total until the 15th January, 1851, in order that I might, during the interval, be able to find a secure investment. You replied to my agent that the Prince adhered to the proposition, and that the affair was perfectly settled. As the time is fastly approaching for the reimbursement, I wish to ask you :—1st. That you will have the goodness to send me a formula of the power of attorney of settlement which I must send to Paris for the reimbursement, and to advise me whether this power of attorney should be signed before a notary or the French consul. 2nd. If the Prince intends to pay the quarterly interest due on the 15th January next at Genoa or Paris ; and, in the latter case, to indicate it in the receipt mentioned above.

“Accept, Sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

“E. L. PALLAVICINO.

“M. Mocquard,

“Private Secretary of the President of the Republic,
Paris.”

*To Monsieur Mocquard, Private Secretary of the President of
the French Republic.*

“Monsieur,—In your letter of the 12th December, you informed the Marquis de Pallavicino that Prince Bonaparte desired a delay of a month for the repayment of the 324,000 francs, and to effect the restitution on the 15th February

1851, instead of the 15th January, as was previously understood. The Marquis de Pallavicino instructs me to inform you that he is prepared to satisfy the demands of the Prince, on the condition that his Highness promises to pay the interest on the sum total at the rate of 6 per cent., which may be calculated at 53fr. 26c. per cent. The Marquis de Pallavicino requests you to write to him as soon as possible, to inform him whether the 15th February is definitively fixed between himself and Prince Bonaparte for the repayment of the sum in question, and whether he may count upon it in order to fill his other engagements.

"Accept, sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration. Your very humble and very obedient servant,

"FÉLIX ARADO.

"Genoa, Dec. 19, 1850."

"Genoa, February 18, 1851.

"*To Monsieur Mocquard, Private Secretary to His Highness Prince Louis Bonaparte, Paris.*

"Sir,

"The Marquis de Pallavicino instructs me to inform you that, in consequence of the understanding between Prince Bonaparte and himself, he has just named the Duke of Galliera as his special agent, to receive in his name from Prince Bonaparte the sum of 324,000 francs. Have the goodness to call upon the Duke, at No. 16, Rue d'Astorg, in order to fix the day most convenient for the settlement of the matter. The Duke will, after reimbursement of the total, remit to you the following documents:—

"1st.—Entire and definitive settlement of the debt of

324,000 francs ; 2nd.—Special power conferred on Raphael Defferari, Duke de Galliera, to receive the sum in the name of the Marquis Pallavicino ; 3rd.—Consent to the eradication of the mortgage on the Prince's property at Civit -Nova ; finally, a receipt for the sum of 1665fr. 50c. due on the total, as follows :—

	Fr. c.
Interest from Jan. 15th to February 15th . . .	1,631 00
Attorney's letter for Viscount de Casabianca to annul the mortgage on a portion of the Prince's estate	15 00
Expenses of letter of Attorney sent to Paris. . .	19 50
Total	<u>1,665 50</u>

“ Have the goodness to acknowledge the receipt of this letter, and accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration. Your very humble and very obedient servant,
“ F  LIX ARADO.”

(50.)

[A curious memorandum of one Besuchet, an old officer of the Empire, found at the back of a circular in favour of the candidateship of Louis Napoleon for the Presidency of the Republic. This document proves that, whilst approving of the circular, the Prince declared that he had not sufficient funds to insure its publication.]

“ SUMS RECEIVED BY MADAME DE MONTIJO.

(*Memorandum bearing no date.*)

“ There were sent to the Countess de Montijo, in Spain, through Messrs. Rothschild :—1st, on the 4th February, 600,000 francs ; 2nd, on the 9th April, 89,739 francs ; and, 3rd, on the 27th May (Mocquard), 668,421 francs.”

(52.)

CIVIL LIST.

[Curious memorandum, in the Emperor's handwriting, without date. Two pages of figures and additions of sums, which we transcribe, with reflections.]

A society of colporteurs received 5000fr. (£200) per month. Florian Pharaon 2000fr. a month. The camp of Châlons appears to have cost 100,000fr. of 110,000fr. in July (186—?). The church of Notre Dame de la Garde, 20,000fr. in July. — *Etincelle*, the journal of M. Pharaon, received 50,000fr. in one payment. (1) The constructions in the Champs de Mars (Exposition?) surpass all calculations; valued at 60,000fr. per month, reached, in July, 147,000fr.—in September, 332,000fr.; and afterwards, 327,000fr. and 322,000fr. M. Mocquard's bill was heavily burdened. The Empress every month had 100,000fr. The building of houses for the d'Albes, the Lauristons, and Imperial residences, absorbed considerable sums. Add 100,000fr. to the Ministry of the Interior, and 150,000fr. to David. Lyons, 300,000fr. (are these shares?).

(1) Without affecting two other sums of 50,000fr., of which mention is made in subsequent accounts.

XVIII.

BUDGET OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY
—MURAT.

Achille Murat's difficulties with his creditors—The Emperor refuses to interfere—Sums allowed to the Murat family from 1852 to 1866—Annual Subventions to the members of the Imperial Family—Sums paid to Lucien Murat, Joachim Murat, and the Duchess de Mouchy.

BUDGET OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

Letter from Monsieur Achille Murat to Napoleon.

“Sire,

“I hasten to inform your Majesty of my return to Paris, being compelled to do so by the urgency of my affairs. I consequently place myself at the orders of your Majesty, assuring you that I have nothing more at heart than to prove to you my sincere desire to conform myself to them.

“After eight months' absence in the Caucasus, Sire, I return to rejoin, in Africa, the new regiment in which, at the request of my brother, your Majesty has deigned to place me, persuaded that the arrangements made during my absence would enable me to re-enter the service, and thus to efface, by my future conduct, my past faults from your Majesty's mind. Unfortunately, Sire, nothing, or next to nothing, is changed in my distressing position. Up to the present time, the money paid has scarcely been sufficient to

liquidate my debts of honour—those in which the honour of my name was engaged—so that all the inconveniences, all the scandals which tormented me before my departure, threaten to torment me still. In Africa, as in Paris, my presence will re-awaken the suspicions of my creditors; I shall be sued, followed, arrested, exposed every day to incessant and menacing demands—demands which will not be wanting in malevolence; and your Majesty is too just to wish that, under such conditions, I should be compelled to rejoin my regiment, where my disrepute would deprive me of the esteem of my comrades, and render my existence and service with them completely impossible.

“I dare not ask your Majesty to permit me to submit the *real* state of my affairs before you; for the reports which have been presented to you concerning me are greatly exaggerated—with what object I am ignorant; but I implore your Majesty to believe, and to be persuaded that I desire, above all things, to reinstate myself in your affection, and, with that end in view, am prepared to do everything in my power.

“Your Majesty’s very obedient nephew and subject,

“ACHILLE MURAT.

“September 30, 1869.”

[The following words are written on the margin, and are in the handwriting of Napoleon.]

“*Refusal.—The Emperor will not interfere in such matters.*”

[His Majesty, before declining to interfere, ordered an account to be presented to him of the sums allowed to the Murat family from 1852 to 1866. The total is tolerably respectable.]

PRINCE ACHILLE MURAT.

		Francs.	Cents.
1864, July.—Received from H.M. the Emperor	...	32,000	00
„ August.—	„	10,000	00
„ September.—	„	10,000	00
„ October.—	„	3,000	00
„ November.—	„	23,000	00
1865, April.—	„	4,959	45
„ November.—	„	248	00
		83,207	45

(22.)

ANNUAL SUBVENTIONS ACCORDED TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
IMPERIAL FAMILY.

(A.)

Names.	Amount of ad- vances demanded for 1868. Francs.	Total. Francs.
Princess Bacciochi	150,000	250,000
Annual pension allowed for purchase of the estate of Boulogne	100,000	
Prince Lucien Murat	...	50,000
Princess Lucien Murat	...	100,000
Prince Achille Murat	...	24,000
Princess Joachim Murat	...	20,000
Prince Pierre Bonaparte	...	100,000
Prince Anthony Bonaparte	...	100,000
Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte	...	100,000
Prince Napoleon Charles Bonaparte ..	50,000	70,000
Rent of hotel	20,000	
Princess Marianne Bonaparte	...	6,000
Madame Valentini	...	25,000
Countess Rasponi	...	50,000
Marquis Pepoli	...	25,000
Marquise Roccagiovine	20,000	40,000
Indemnity for rent	20,000	
Countess Primoli	20,000	40,000
Indemnity for rent	20,000	

PAYMENTS TO LUCIEN MURAT. .. 159

Countess Campella	...	...	...	20,000	20,000
Princess Gabrielli	...	...	20,000	}	40,000
Indemnity for rent	...	...	20,000		
Baroness de Chassiron	...	...	...	...	30,000
Madame Wyse	...	...	40,000	}	46,975
Insurance on her life	...	...	6,975		
Madame Ratazzi, née Wyse	...	...	...	...	24,000
Madame Turr, née Wyse	...	...	...	...	24,000
Prince Gabrielli	...	...	...	...	6,250
Marquise Christine Stephanoni	...	...	...	...	6,250
Countess Lavinie Aventi	...	...	...	...	6,250
Marquise Amelie Parisani	...	...	...	...	6,250
Madame A. Booker	...	...	...	...	6,000
Madame Clélia Honorati Romagnoli	...	...	...	...	6,000
M. Jerome Bonaparte, junior	...	...	...	...	30,000
Marquise Bartholini	...	...	...	...	12,000
Countess Mosti, née Pepoli	...	...	...	...	8,333
Countess Ruspoli, née Pepoli	...	...	...	...	8,333
Countess Tattini, née Pepoli	...	...	...	...	8,334
M. Wyse (Lucien Napoleon)	...	...	...	...	2,000
General Total	...	...	...	...	1,310,975

MINISTRY OF THE EMPEROR'S HOUSEHOLD AND OF FINE
ARTS.

Secretary-General's Office.—(B.)

*Sums paid since 1852, in capital, to his Highness Prince Lucien Murat,
and to the members of his family.*

1st.—TO PRINCE LUCIEN MURAT, APRIL, 1852.

Francs.

One million francs, payable in monthly instalments of
25,000 fr., with interest added 1,000,000

DECEMBER, 1852.

One million of francs, payable in six parts, and per
month, with interest added.—(This sum is granted
on the condition that the allowance of the Prince
shall be reduced from 100,000fr. to 50,000fr.
annually, and that the capital shall be employed
as usufruct, in favour of his eldest son.) 1,000,000

FEBRUARY, 1860.

Three hundred thousand francs.—(This sum is granted for the purchase of an hotel situated at the angle of the Avenue Montaigne and the Rue Jean-Goujon.)	300,000
--	---------

MAY, 1860.

Twelve thousand five hundred francs, in payment of legacies due to the Prince from his mother, according to the will of Cardinal Fesch	12,500
---	--------

JULY, 1860.

One hundred thousand francs, the total of an allowance placed at the disposition of the Prince	100,000
---	---------

DECEMBER, 1864.

Sixty-seven thousand francs. (This sum is advanced as a loan; but only 35,000fr. have as yet been paid, and, in consequence, there remains due)	32,000
--	--------

Total... ..	2,444,500
-------------	-----------

HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE JOACHIM MURAT.

MARCH, 1854.

Allowance of one hundred and eighty thousand francs on the occasion of his marriage	180,000
--	---------

THE DUCHESS DE MOUCHY.

1866.

	Frs.	Cts.
Allowance of one million seven hundred and thirty-eight thousand and sixty-two francs forty-eight centimes as the marriage portion of the Duchess de Mouchy	1,738,062	48
Making together	4,362,562	48

[The subjoined note, written in ink, is found on the margin of the above document.]

“The marriage portion was 2,000,000fr.; the surplus of the 1,738,062fr. 48c. was paid by the Emperor without the intervention of the Ministry.”

XIX.

FROM MADEMOISELLE BELLANGER,
MARIE CAPELLE, AND MISS HOWARD.

Mlle. Bellanger's relations with the Emperor—Marie Capelle thanks the Prince-President—Miss Howard's financial relations with the Emperor.

Letters from Mademoiselle Marguerite Bellanger.

[The two following letters were discovered among the private papers of the Emperor. They were placed together in an envelope, sealed with the Crown and Imperial ciphers, and bearing these words, written by Napoleon, "Letters to be kept."]

"Sir,—You have asked me for explanations as to my relations with the Emperor ; and, at whatever cost, I will tell you the whole truth. It is terrible to avow that I have deceived him—I, who owe him everything ; but he has done so much for me that I will lay all before you. I was not confined at seven months, but at nine months. Tell him that I ask his pardon. You, sir, have given me your word of honour that you will keep this letter.

"Receive, Sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

" M. BELLANGER."

" My dear Prince,—I have not written to you since my departure, fearing to cause you any annoyance ; but since

the visit of M. Devienne (President of the Court of Cassation) I have thought it my duty to do so ; first, in order to supplicate you not to despise me, for without your esteem I know not what would become of me ; and next, to demand your forgiveness. I have been guilty, it is true ; but, I assure you, I was doubtful. Tell me, my dear lord, if there are any means of expiating my fault, and I will not shrink from any sacrifice ; if a whole life of devotion can secure me your esteem, mine belongs to you, and there is no sacrifice you can demand of me that I am not perfectly ready to accord. If it is necessary, in order to secure your tranquillity, that I should become an exile in a foreign country, let me know, and I will leave at once. My heart is so deeply penetrated with gratitude for all the kindness you have shown to me, that to suffer for your sake would be happiness. The only thing which, at any price and on any consideration, I should not wish, is that you should doubt my sincerity and my profound love for you. I beg you, therefore, to send me a few lines saying that you forgive me. My address is : Madame Bellanger, Rue de Launay, commune of Vilberuier, near Saumur. Awaiting your reply, my dear lord, receive the farewell of your ever devoted but very unhappy

“ MARGUERITE.”

[Has the subjoined letter from M. Devienne to M. Conti (the Emperor's Private Secretary) reference to the above?]

Imperial Court of Paris ; Cabinet of the First President.

“ Paris, 19th February, 1868.

“ Monsieur le Conseiller d'Etat,—I shall feel greatly obliged to you if you will kindly give the letter I enclose to

his Majesty. Please to receive, with my apology, the expression of the sentiment of my high consideration.

“ The First President,
“ DEVIENNE.”

(42.)

MARIE CAPELLE (MME. LAFARGE.)

[Letter of thanks to the Prince-President, who set her at liberty.]

“ My Lord,—I was dying ; you knew it, and I owe you my life. I shed tears of gratitude at your feet.

“ What words, Prince, would be sufficiently eloquent to worthily express my thanksgivings !

“ To owe you my liberty is to owe you my honour. You protect and you give royally. . . . My whole life will be the passionate echo of my gratitude. . . . But in order to dare to tell you, my lord, how I venerate and love you, I throw down my pen, and I borrow the heart of France.

“ I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, my lord, your very humble and very obedient *ressuscitée*,

“ MARIE CAPELLE.

“ Montpellier, 12th June, 1852.”

(45.)

MISS HOWARD.

[Miss Howard had pledged her fortune for the success of the *coup d'état* ; she had several times paid the debts of

Prince Louis Napoleon. In 1851 he had bills protested at Montaut's, a money-changer in the Palais Royal. On the 25th of March, 1853, he remitted to Miss Howard a first instalment of one million.

Letter from Mme. Beauregard (Miss Howard), giving a receipt for one million, dated 25th March, 1853. The letter was originally written in English; but a translation only has been published. It is as follows.]

"Received of his Majesty Napoleon III. the sum of one million francs, in full acquittance and discharge of all my rights and interests in the domain of Civit -Nova, on the frontier of Ancona (Papal States).

"E. H. DE BEAUREGARD.

"Paris, 25th March, 1853."

[Letter to M. Mocquard.—Receipt for a sum of 50,000 francs, under date of the 31st January, 1854. (With a note by M. Mocquard, stating that three previous payments of a like amount had been made by M. Giles.)]

"My dear Mocquard,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt up to the 1st January, 1854, of the sum of fifty thousand francs, which I had charged you to receive each month.

"E. H. DE BEAUREGARD.

"Paris, 31st January, 1854."

[NOTE.—The payment of the 50,000 francs commenced from the 1st of June, 1853. The first three payments had been made by M. Giles.

Account of the sums paid by the Emperor to Miss Howard from the 24th March, 1853, to the 1st January, 1855. The total amounts to 5,449,000 francs.]

"1st Jan., 1855.—Payment of 58,000 francs."

[The month of November, then, is not included.]

"I had promised three millions in addition to Beauregard's (1) expenses, which I estimated, at the outside, at 500,000 francs.

"I gave 1,000,000 the 24th March, 1853, according to receipt.

„ 1,500,000 31st Jan., 1854.

„ 1,414,000 in Government stock.

„ 585,000 in payments of 58,000 per month from the 1st Jan., 1855.

„ 950,000 in payments of 50,000 francs per month from 1st Jan., 1853, to 1st Jan., 1855."

5,449,000

[Another letter from Miss Howard, complaining that the engagements entered into with her had not been kept. This letter is dated the 24th of July, 1855.]

"Chateau de Beauregard,

"24th July, 1855.

"My very dear Friend,—To-day is the 24th of July, and I see with sorrow that the engagements entered into with me are not accomplished [when I doubt I am vexed; there must be no more doubt]; in fact, I believed, and I still believe, that it is an error—why make me suffer? If things are to be thus, I should have done better to have kept *the six millions*, instead of three millions five hundred thousand

(1) In parenthesis, underlined: "*Howard*."

francs, which should have been paid, on my demand, at the end of the year 1853, and it was for this reason that I begged of the Emperor to tear up the first sum (*two millions five hundred thousand francs*). It makes my heart bleed to write this, and if my marriage contract were not drawn up as it is, and if I had no child, I should not have taken this step, which has become a duty. I depend upon you to put an end to so much suffering. The heart of the Emperor is too good to leave a woman whom he has tenderly loved in a false position, and he would not wish to be so himself—you know my position, you are my tutor, and it is for this double reason that I address myself to you. I was mistaken the other day in writing to his Majesty. In one of his letters, dated May, he says: ‘I will give Giles to-morrow paper for the three million five hundred thousand francs.’ So there is nothing to be done but to calculate the annuity of 50,000 from the 1st June, 1853, and 50,000 from January to October. I pray God that there may be no more questions of money between me and he who possesses every other feeling of my heart. I kiss you tenderly, and love you the same.

“Yours affectionately,

“E. H. DE BEAURECARD.

“I beg you will not leave this letter. You may read it to his Majesty if you think fit, and burn it immediately afterwards. I saw Mme. Mocquard on Monday at four o’clock. She was suffering greatly the other day.”

[The preceding letter having been written in *English-French*, the writer’s meaning is not always very clear; the translator has, however, used his best endeavours to make it intelligible.]

XX.

ORLEANISM.

The refusal of young Cavaignac to accept a prize from the Prince Imperial—M. Baroche, junior, and the late Duchess of Orleans.

(34.)

[The subjoined letter was address'd by M. Victor Duruy, Minister of Public Instruction, to General Froissard, Governor of the Prince Imperial, after the distribution of prizes at the annual concourse of 1868. It will be remembered that the Prince Imperial presided at the ceremony, and that young Cavaignac refused to receive the prize awarded to him from the hands of the Prince Imperial.]

CABINET OF THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

“Paris, Aug. 10, 1868.

“General,

“My son confirms me in the impression that the disgraceful incidents of which we have been witnesses are organised by a group of pupils at the Lycée Bonaparte—that nest of involuntary Orleanists. Jules Simon has his children there.

“It appears to me that, after this little scandal, I ought not to propose to the Emperor to grant a cross to the school, the professors in which ought to exercise more influence over the minds of their pupils. The pupils, too—at least a great number—on reflection, were much humiliated that

Cavaignac refused to accept the prize assigned to him. His mother had ordered him not to do so, he said ; but she had sent him, no doubt, with the view of provoking a manifestation, and she succeeded. Notwithstanding all this, he convinced that the presence of the Prince produced a most salutary effect, even in Paris. As for the universities in the provinces, they are very grateful.

“ Yours devotedly,
“ V. DURUY.”

(35.)

LETTER FROM M. BAROCHE, SENIOR, TO THE EMPEROR.

[In the following letter M. Baroche endeavours to justify his son having written his name on a register opened at the residence of the Duchess of Orleans, immediately after her death.]

“ Paris, June 7.

“ Sire,

“ Your Majesty has no doubt been informed of a fact, insignificant in itself, but to which an English journal has endeavoured to attribute some importance—I speak of my son having inscribed his name in the register opened in the house where the Duchess of Orleans died. I should feel exceedingly unhappy if this rash act should leave on your Majesty’s mind an unfavourable impression against my son. I pray your Majesty to permit me to give you a full account of the incident. My son, taking advantage of a holiday granted to him by the President of his department in the Council of State, went to England to be present at the Epsom races, and whilst in London visited the docks and

public establishments. On Wednesday, the 21st of May, he went to Richmond and Kew with his fellow-travellers— young men quite foreign to politics. The latter, in passing before the house where the body of the Duchess of Orleans still remained, wrote their names in the book kept at the door, and my son followed their example, without reflecting that his name and his position imposed upon him duties from which his friends enjoyed comparative immunity.

“He soon discovered his error, and, even before I had occasion to speak to him on the subject, he expressed his sincere regret at having been induced to commit so great an error—an error which I am not called upon to excuse, knowing that he would have acted very differently during the Duchess’s lifetime. Without being in any way connected with the past—having never exercised any public function otherwise than under the Government of your Majesty, of whom I have the honour of being one of the oldest servants, since, from the 20th December, 1848, I was appointed Procuror-General at Paris—I owe everything to the goodness of the Emperor; and my sons, too, who, although still young, have often been the objects of his favours and his kindness, join in the same sentiments of gratitude and affection with which I am penetrated.

“I venture to hope, besides, that your Majesty knows me too well to render it necessary that I should assure you, on behalf of myself and my sons, of a devotion of which we shall always be happy to give you new proofs.

“Accept, Sire, the homage of the profound respect with which I have the honour to be your Majesty’s very humble and very obedient servant,

“J. BAROCHE.”

XXI.

COLONEL ESPINASSE ON PARDONS.

Revision of the judgments of the Mixed Commissions—Effects of the liberations on the anarchists; on the country—Numbers of the insurgents in different districts—Bad impressions of individual pardons—State of public spirit.

(40.)

[After the *coup d'état*, Colonel Espinasse, who was Minister of the Interior after the attempt of Orsini, and who was the first to apply the law of general security, received from Louis Napoleon the mission of revising the judgments of the Mixed Commissions. The following is the report which he sent in after his journey.]

“ My Lord,—I have the honour of addressing to you my report of the mission which you did me the honour to confide to me. I have been able to ascertain the state of public feeling from Tours to Bordeaux, from Bordeaux to Montpellier and Perpignan. I have everywhere found it satisfactory. Everywhere the great services you have rendered to the country have been warmly appreciated. Among these services that which perhaps is the most appreciated is the having rid society of the dangerous elements which threatened to dissolve it. This last feeling is so deeply rooted that any idea of an amnesty would be scouted.

“ The circular of the Minister of the Interior, and the

liberations which followed it, produced the worst possible effect. The anarchists once more held up their heads, and those who were already in the hands of justice interrupted or retracted the confessions which would have made the authorities acquainted with the plans and organisation of the secret societies. These troublesome symptoms had begun to disappear, when the news of the mission of clemency with which the commissaries extraordinary were charged revived them to such a point that, in order to quiet them, I was compelled to order that the bands of prisoners who had been stopped on account of my revision should resume their journey as soon as that revision terminated.

“I return with the profound conviction that in all the departments I have visited the Mixed Commissions followed their instructions, which enjoined them to strike only those who were really dangerous.

“In the Deux-Sèvres, the Gironde, the Garonne, and the Aude their only fault was excessive indulgence. May they never have cause to repent having let slip an opportunity—perhaps the only one—of disorganising anarchy! In these departments there have been condemned only a few individuals who had been for some time pointed at by public opinion as inveterate disturbers of the peace. In the Lot-et-Garonne, the Pyrénées-Orientales, and the Hérault, where the insurgents, by commencing hostilities, rendered necessary numerous arrests, the ramifications of the secret societies were made known. The number of members known exceeds 30,000 in each of the two departments, and 60,000 in the third, organised by decuries and centuries, and ready to rise at the first signal. In striking only at the known chiefs the number of condemnations would have

been enormous. It was, therefore, considered advisable to prosecute only those who had great influence, and those whose antecedents, known from the annals of the assize courts and those of correctional police, proved that they were constantly in revolt against the authorities.

“ I was not able, in my mission, to examine the briefs of each of the political prisoners—briefs which would have required several months of study in each department. Therefore, in order to avoid the double inconvenience of disquieting the population by an inconsiderate clemency, and wounding the feelings of the authorities, who had done their work zealously and conscientiously, I called together the Mixed Commissions, and, after having informed them of your intentions, I asked them to point out to me such of the political prisoners as seemed to them most worthy of your clemency. Then, taking their work for a base, with the briefs in hand, I was able to commute a certain number of sentences, and grant a certain number of pardons. Furnished with information either by the Gendarmerie, the municipality, or the clergy, each of which went to work with the greatest goodwill, I was enabled to enlarge the sphere of action as much as possible. We took into account the petitions for pardon and written proofs of repentance ; but, nevertheless, out of nearly four thousand condemnations I was only able to pronounce, in your name, one hundred commutations and two hundred free pardons.

“ The individual pardons which you have already granted, my lord, have produced in general a bad impression on the country ; the real chiefs of anarchy have alone profited by them, because they alone were able to get themselves recommended. This has given rise to a scandal which you

wished above all to avoid ; the most influential escape punishment, whilst their blind tools expiate in exile the crimes of those who are really guilty. It is to be desired that, for the future, your clemency should only be exercised on the initiative of the local administration. It alone can properly judge of the wisdom of a liberation or the reality of a repentance, and at the same time it will not draw down upon itself the hate of numerous families by forming part of an exceptional tribunal ; it will, on the contrary, calm them by becoming the intermediary of clemency. (1)

“ [Pardons are often granted in Paris on the demand of old parties, for whom it is a means of preserving an influence which they are rapidly losing. It is desirable that this influence should be altogether in the hands of your Administration. If this desire were welcomed, the following course might be adopted :—Any political offender who believed himself entitled to the clemency of the Government would personally make a demand for pardon, promising submission ; this demand, together with the motives assigned by the chief of the authority under which he is placed, will be transmitted to the prefect of the department in which he has been condemned. Every three months each prefect would transmit to the Minister of Justice the demands which merited being taken into consideration.

“ To resume, my lord, public spirit is excellent. The Mixed Commissions have scrupulously performed their duties. Among the services that you have rendered to society, my lord, the one which is most appreciated is that

(1) The rest of the report, between brackets, was erased in the minute. The document bears, in the handwriting of the Emperor, the title, “ Report of Col. Espinasse.”

of having rid it of a part of the elements which threatened to dissolve it. Opinion is hostile to all immediate amnesty, which is regarded as a snare held out by the vanquished parties.

“The condemnations ought for the present to be maintained ; pardons should only be granted partially, and without exposure, and on the advice of the local authorities.]

“ I have the honour to be, my Lord,

“ Your faithful subject,

“ Colonel Commissary Extraordinary,

“ ESPINASSE.”

XXII.

PIERRE BONAPARTE AND NAPOLEON.

Pierre Bonaparte wishes to legitimise his children—His difficulties as a member of the Imperial Family—Desires to sell his estate in Corsica—Napoleon refuses to consent to his marriage—A rejoinder—The trial at Tours.

(19.)

Letters from Pierre Bonaparte to Napoleon.

(1.)

“Sire,—I cannot bow before the decision of your Majesty, but your Majesty must permit me to inform you that my children will cease to be illegitimate from the moment that I legalise them. It was not my immediate intention to marry their mother, but as there is no other mode of legitimising them, I purpose at once to adopt it. I therefore ask of your Majesty the authorisation rendered necessary by the statute of the 21st June, 1853 ; and I make a fresh appeal to your goodness and to your sense of justice.

“Allow me to give expression to a reflection which is very painful to me. The fact is that the exceptional situation imposed upon the members of the Imperial Family enforces upon me a sort of interdiction from all civil and political rights. If a desire is expressed to name me deputy, your Majesty is opposed to such a step. I am condemned to submit to a kind of inability, of forced non-participation

in the service of the country and of your Majesty. The realisation of the most legitimate desires, of duties the most sacred, appears to encounter obstacles, and all this, certainly, without sufficient compensation.

"To put these questions is to be convinced that they will be taken into consideration, if the opinion I have always had of your Majesty's greatness of soul does not deceive me.

"I beg your Majesty again to accept the homage of my profound respect and of my inviolable attachment.

"I am your Majesty's very devoted cousin,

"PIERRE NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

"Paris, March 19, 1867."

(II.)

"Sire,—My reply to your Majesty's letter was dictated by a sentiment from which I cannot shrink. Since then the situation which I have endeavoured to sketch has become still more pronounced by a circumstance which compels me definitely to renounce Corsica. The Minister of the Interior, solicited by Monsieur Benedetti, has appointed a relation of the latter to the sub-prefecture of Calvi, in the arrondissement of my place of residence. The favourable reception given by your Majesty to my request in favour of Doctor Bartoli has thus been useless.

"Deprived of all credit, of all participation in affairs, of every opportunity of ameliorating my condition, I trust your Majesty will come to my assistance. If you would, Sire, purchase for me my property in Corsica, I should then be able to complete my modest establishment in the Ardennes.

The estate in Corsica is very well situated for the establishment of a model farm, a barrack for the Gendarmery, or any other administrative institution. I shall be obliged to put it up for sale, and I do not expect to realise much upon it, unless your Majesty adopts my proposition. It would be a favour which I should never forget.

“ Your Majesty’s devoted cousin,

“ PIERRE NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

“ Paris, March 25, 1867.”

(38.)

Letter from Napoleon to M. Pierre Bonaparte.

[A rough draft of the subjoined letter was found in the handwriting of Monsieur Conti.]

“ I cannot, no matter what it costs me, receive your new demands favourably. The considerations which oppose themselves to the legitimacy of your children are equally an obstacle to the union you wish to contract. When one has the honour of bearing a name like yours, respect ought to be paid to the proprieties. The inconvenience which such respect may impose is only, after all, the compensation of advantages everywhere envied, and which, I presume, you have no wish to renounce.

“ I regret, at the same time, not to be able to purchase the property which you possess in Corsica, and which you wish to dispose of. Such a property could not be of any (1)

(1) A word illegible.

use, and would be a burden upon me. My budget is already too heavily charged to enable me to make such sacrifices."

(4.)

"Sire,—I cannot allow your letter of yesterday to remain without a reply. I firmly believe that there would be much more impropriety in failing in the sacred duty of legitimising my children, than in contracting marriage with their mother—of modest birth, but irreproachable conduct. If it is of a *mésalliance* your Majesty speaks, it would be less compromising—especially considering the respective positions—than other *mésalliances* contracted in the family.

"I do not well understand what are the advantages of which your Majesty speaks, as being everywhere envied. If you refer to titles, which are not even due to me under the Empire, I attach no importance to them, and I voted in favour of their suppression when I had the honour to sit in the National Constituent Assembly. If it is my name you refer to, I owe it only to my birth—to my father—who certainly has not given me the example of his honouring the sentiments which inspire me. If you refer to the allowance which your Majesty doles out to me, it represents but a very small portion of the property of which the Bourbons defrauded us by an act of iniquitous spoliation—to use the very expression of your Majesty, found in an official document which I have now in my hands.

"But to resume, Sire, I shall not, at no matter what sacrifice, fail to observe my paternal duties, and, if it should be necessary, I shall know—I who, during the four years I

sat in the National Assembly, never gave a vote, a single vote, against the liberty of others—how to retake the road to exile, and to ask more justice from a free people.—I am not the less, Sire, with respect,

“Your Majesty’s very humble and very obedient servant.

“PIERRE NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

“Paris, April 25, 1867.”

(5.)

“Sire,

“I have thought it necessary to make the Archbishop of Paris acquainted with my situation ; and this worthy prelate desires to speak with your Majesty. I pray you, therefore, to have the goodness to listen to him, and to accept the homage of my respectful attachment.

“PIERRE NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

“Paris, April 25, 1867.”

(20.)

[The three letters which follow have reference to the trial at Tours. The letter of the witness Natal, whose affirmation before the High Court will be well remembered, throws a light on this affair.]

“Monsieur le Ministre,

“The Emperor has charged me to transmit to your Excellency the enclosed letter, which has been addressed to me by Prince Pierre Bonaparte. Your Excellency will see from the contents of this letter that the Prince desires to obtain from the Court of Rome an attestation refuting a

calumnious allegation contained in the *Marseillaise*, relative to the motives of the measure taken by the Roman Government in 1836 against himself and his brother, and which the Prince wishes to produce before a Court of Justice. His demands appears to be of such a nature as not to be refused by the Court of Rome.

“The Emperor therefore begs your Excellency to be so good as to write to the French Ambassador at Rome, in order that he may take the necessary measures to obtain this document.

“Believe me, &c.,

_____.”

XXIII.

THE EMPEROR'S NOVEL.

(55.)

PLOT OF A NOVEL BY THE EMPEROR.

“ M. Benoît, an honest grocer, residing in the Rue de la Lune, left, in 1847, for America. After having travelled in the countries extending from Hudson's Bay to the Mississippi, he returned to France in April, 1868, having been nearly nineteen years out of the country. He had been only vaguely informed as to the events which had taken place in France since 1848. Some French refugees had told him that, if he visited France, he would find it crushed under a system of despotism, with poverty abounding everywhere; a France, in fact, very different from that which he left flourishing under the reign of Louis Phillippe. Our friend Benoît arrives at Brest in a trans-Atlantic steamer, full of uncertainties, regrets, and apprehensions. ‘What are those black-looking vessels, so ugly when compared with the beautiful sailing vessels that I have left behind me?’ he asks of the first sailor he meets. ‘Why,’ replies the sailor, ‘they are iron-clad men-of-war, the Emperor's invention; covered with iron, they are impregnable; and this transformation has destroyed, to a certain extent, the supremacy of the English fleet on the seas.’ ‘That may

be possible ; but I am sorry for our old ships, with their poetical masts and sails.'(1) He sees the crowd rushing towards the Court-house to record their votes. Astonishment at witnessing the existence of universal suffrage ; astonishment at the railways which run throughout the whole of the country, and at the telegraph. Arrived in Paris ; embellishments. The *octroi* (city dues) carried to the fortifications. He wishes to make some purchases, which are cheaper, in consequence of the Treaty of Commerce ; some half-price, &c. He fancies that there are a number of writers in prison. Error. No disturbances ; no political prisoners ; no exiles. No more preventive detentions ; acceleration of trial ; branding suppressed ; civil death suppressed ; Society for Assistance to the Aged ; asylums at Vincennes ; coalitions ; *Police de roulage* suppressed ; military service shortened, pay increased, medal instituted, pension augmented, reserve increasing the regular force ; funds for infirm priests ; arrest for debt ; brokers ; a tradesman who sent his assistant to buy or sell goods was arrested ; Councils-General.

(1) On the margin, opposite the latter phrase, are written these words : "Passports suppressed."

XXIV.

THE SANDON AFFAIR.

Persigny wishes to stifle the affair—M. Sandon arrested seventeen times; confined in a lunatic asylum for twenty months.

[The indignation caused by the repeated confinements of M. Sandon in a lunatic asylum is still fresh in the memory of the public. Asylums of this description were, in fact, transformed into so many Bastilles. Here is some Cæsar-admiring correspondence touching this particular instance.]

Letter from Monsieur de Persigny to M. Conti.

"My dear Conti,—Here is a grave affair which it is necessary to stifle at once. The conduct of M. Billault is unprecedented. The person who has been victimised to such a point is about to become the tool of parties. A fearful scandal might ensue. It appears that, with 20,000 or 30,000 francs, which Dr. Conneau (the Emperor's physician) undertakes to provide from the public funds, everything could be arranged. Besides, there has evidently been great injustice, and it is necessary to repair it.

"A thousand compliments.

"PERSIGNY.

"Paris, March 29, 1866."

(11.)

Letter from Monsieur Sandon.

"Monsieur,—Doctor Conneau yesterday communicated to me the reply of the Emperor. Here are the facts :—

"1. A Minister *responsible to the Emperor alone* has caused me to be arrested seventeen times, and has confined me in the lunatic asylum of Charenton for the period of twenty months.

"2. An *irresponsible* Senator has audaciously and illegally defamed my character, and caused the death of my mother.

"3. An *irresponsible* Minister of the Interior continues to write defamatory communications concerning me to the journals.

"The Emperor appears to have replied to my petition (to Dr. Conneau) that there were judges—that I could plead my cause. This is an error. In absolving each individual Minister from his responsibility, the Emperor has assumed the whole responsibility himself. It is he who owes me justice. He has deprived me of my mother, my fortune, my honour ; there remains but my life ; and, under such conditions, I can even make that sacrifice, too. The Emperor owes me justice ; he ought to know that when illegality is proved to have been exercised, the victim expects to claim his rights. I desire and hope to be heard. A man is not driven to such extremes, to such a desperate state, in such a fashion as this.

"*I wish to see you, and believe me your very humble and respectful servant,*

"LÉON SANDON, *Advocate.*"

XXV.

2ND DECEMBER, 1851.

Prudence of MM. Rouher and Fould—Proscriptions of December, 1851—Total number arrested, brought to trial, and punished in December, 1851.

(53.)

[The following letter was carefully preserved by M. Conti, in a private portfolio of the Emperor, bearing the inscription: "*L'Empereur*." It shows that two of the most zealous servants of the Imperial régime embarked with exceeding prudence in the support of the Empire of the 2nd December, 1851; they preferred to await the success of the *coup d'état*.]

To the Director of the National Printing Office.

"M. le Directeur,

"I learn indirectly that certain printed documents bearing my signature have been forwarded to you for the purpose of being sent to the provinces. I am entirely foreign to the transaction, and beg you, in consequence, to cancel my signature.

"Your devoted,

"E. ROUHER."

"I make the same declaration and the same demand.

"A. FOULD."

[On the left side of the letter, the following note, written in ink :—"Received the 2nd Dec., 1851, at six o'clock in the evening, the Secretary of the Direction" (signature illegible); and at the bottom, the stamp of the National Printing Office, in black; "*Imprimerie Nationale, Direction.*" The envelope containing this letter bears the following words: "2nd December, 1851. Letter from M. Rouher and M. Fould." On the right-hand side is written, in pencil, the following inexplicable word: "*Complot.*"]

—

PROSCRIPTIONS OF DECEMBER, 1851.

Statement Concerning the Individuals who, after December, 1851, were Subjected to Penal Measures.

"The Emperor wished to have an exact statement of the individuals who, after the events of December, had been subjected to criminal proceedings of one kind or another. This investigation, appertaining, as had hitherto been the case, to the Ministry of General Police, was, in the month of March, 1852, confided to three Ministers—those of Justice, War, and Peace, according to the three categories to which the condemned prisoners belonged. It is in consequence of the difficulty which I have experienced (by reasons of this division) in obtaining information foreign to my Ministry, that I have been prevented handing in to your Majesty an immediate report :—

1st. Total number of people arrested or brought to trial in France on the occasion of the insurrection of December, 1851	...	...	...	...	26,642
2nd. Deduct	Persons let at liberty... Persons submitted to simple surveillance	...	...	...	6,501 5,108
					Total 11,609
3rd. Total number of persons condemned after the insurrection of December, 1851	...	...	...	...	15,033
4th. Deduct the persons condemned by the Councils of War and the Tribunals for offences against the law, such as assassins, incendiaries, thieves, &c. ...	Correctional Police Councils of War Houses of Correction	...	...	...	639 247 29
					915
Cayenne. Algeria. Exiled * or Interned. Expelled.					
5th. Total number, divided into categories, of persons condemned by Mixed Commissions after the insurrection of the 2nd December	...	...	...	...	...
6th. Total number, in categories, of persons pardoned.	...	...	...	...	...
7th. Number of persons tried by default	...	...	...	...	...
„ Died	...	...	...	...	...
8th. Actual number, by categories, to the 27th of January, of persons still undergoing, in virtue of the sentences of the Mixed Commissions, the subjoined penalties	...	...	...	...	...

To this total of 6,153 persons still subjected to sentences of one sort or another must be added 5,450 persons under the surveillance of the police, either in consequence of the decision of the Mixed Commissions, or as a guarantee to the Government after a commutation of their sentences. The total number of persons undergoing at the present time the sentences applied by the Mixed Commissions, after the events of the 2nd December, is thus 6,153; this number will in a few days

be reduced considerably, in consequence of the submissions which are arriving *en masse* every day, either to the Emperor, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of War, or to the Ministry of General Police. I should have wished to have furnished to your Majesty the exact number of submissions up to the present day; I have endeavoured in vain to do so, not being instructed to concentrate the general service. 2,843 demands for pardon have been received at the Ministry of General Police alone.

“The Minister, Secretary of State in the Department of General Police.

“(Signed) DE MAUPAS.”

XXVI.

LOUIS NAPOLEON, PRESIDENT OF THE
REPUBLIC.LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, PRESIDENT OF THE
REPUBLIC. . .

“Three hundred thousand suffrages, in recalling from exile our citizen, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, have traced the line he ought to follow, and designated the position he may assume amongst us. The whole of France, associating itself with the spontaneous vote of five departments, has saluted his entrance in the National Assembly as a presage of the approaching termination of the provisional state of things which weighs upon us. Pressed by men ill at ease at the greatness of his position, Louis Napoleon has accepted from the Tribune a candidature offered to him from every part by real patriots, men of order, of progress, and of liberty ; his programme has been welcomed by the whole population of France.

“The moment has arrived, citizens, to manifest our sympathies for the man who will shortly be the elect of the nation ; let us be prepared and united. In the face of the misfortunes which weigh upon our country, and of those which may still threaten it, let us appeal to our consciences and see whether we have a more glorious name—a more

sympathetic name—than that of *Napoleon*; if we have a man who better than the nephew of the great Emperor, the grandson of the good Josephine, the writer who occupied himself so much with the interests of the people, (1) could present himself as a symbol of union, of order, of clemency, and of fraternity! Brought up in the school of adversity, matured by exile, the Prince is nothing more than a citizen animated with the most ardent feelings of patriotism. A stranger to all political intrigue—to the civil dissensions which afflict his heart—his mission will be to repair, and not to avenge; he will have no other ambition than that of contributing to the well-being of all, in directing France by wise and liberal paths, under the ægis of the flag of national independence and public liberty. His uncle desired the happiness of France by glory. Prince Louis desires the glory of France by happiness. *Vive la République!*

“In the name of a committee of electors for the Department of the Seine.

“BESUCHET.

“Formerly officer of the Imperial Army.”

[On the back are written these words.]

“Approved by the Prince! 40,000 copies were distributed. On this occasion it was that the Emperor said to me, in his apartments at the Hôtel du Rhin:—‘It is very well written, but it will be expensive to print and

(1) The writings of Louis Napoleon breathe the most noble sentiments in favour of the working classes; he treated successively the various questions connected with social organisation. We quote, amongst other remarkable works, the “*Extinction of Pauperism*,” published at Ham during his captivity in 1844. His “*Manual of Artillery*” gained him the esteem of all practised soldiers.

distribute ; and I have no money.' ' Prince,' I replied, ' I do not wish you to incur any expense ; I shall regulate all that, and, with God's help, we shall succeed.' He at once took my hand in token of his gratitude."

XXVII.

PRUSSIAN AFFAIRS.

Report of Lieutenant-Colonel de Stoffel—M. de Bismark proposes an Interview between King William and Napoleon — Prussian opinion and practices.

[The following letter shows us M. de Bismark proposing (November, 1868) an interview between King William and Napoleon, in order to smooth the difficulties between France and Prussia. Lieutenant-Colonel de Stoffel, military attaché to the Embassy at Berlin, did not suspect, any more than M. Benedetti, that these evidences of a desire for peace were coincident with M. de Moltke's studies on the north-eastern frontier.]

Lieutenant-Colonel de Stoffel to Piétri.

“Berlin, 20 Nov., 1868.

“My dear Piétri,—This letter will take a curious route before it reaches you, for I shall give it to the English courier. It will, therefore, have the honour of passing through Brussels and London, and will be sent to you by our Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is absolutely necessary that you should let me know, by a word sent by post, whether you received a package last Thursday, the 19th, in the evening. It was a work for the Emperor, and another

for the Minister, both enclosed in the same parcel, and sealed with five seals, which I had entrusted to M. Bleichrader, a banker at Berlin, who was going to Paris. Nothing is rarer in this life than to meet people who know how to put themselves in the place of others. Now, put ~~yourself~~ in mine for a moment, and you may imagine how uneasy I am as to the fate of my parcels each time I send them otherwise than by the couriers of the Embassy. If you would only write a few words, as, for example : 'I am quite well, with the exception of a whitlow on the middle finger, and I received your letter on Thursday last,' that would not disturb you in your grave occupations, nor in the Boulangère, which you dance so well, and at least I should feel more at ease.

"Did my work on the 'Note' answer the purpose ?

"I told you in my last letter that I had some curious details to give you. Here they are. M. B., of whom I have spoken above, is a banker of some importance in Berlin, an agent of Rothschild's, and Bismark's man of business. Of low origin, he has succeeded, by perseverance and practical good sense, in attaining a good position. He is the only Jew whom Bism. receives familiarly, and at whose house ~~he~~ consents to dine. He employs him as a hunter up of information, gives him certain confidential commissions, &c., &c. One thing to be remarked in the history of the Prussian Governments which have succeeded each other for the last hundred years is that they have nearly always employed a Jew (even in the time of Sieyes) as an agent more or less occult. He of whom I speak, without being exactly an intriguer, aspires to play the part and take the place of his predecessors, among whom the Jew

Ephraim takes the first rank. He is an amiable and benevolent man, with whom I am on very good terms. Now, M. B., after having been a week at Varzin, at the residence of M. Bismark, came to see me recently, and if I relate the details of our interview, it is because there is every reason to believe that he was commissioned to sound my opinions. He took care, as a preamble, to request absolute secrecy on my part as to our conversation, and then he related at full length his recent conversations with Bism., and the humour in which he found him. 'The Minister,' said M. B., 'desires peace more ardently than ever, and he will do all that he can to preserve it. He is all the more sincere in expressing himself thus, in that he himself explains why the North cannot and ought not to desire the immediate annexation of the Southern States; that the unity of Germany will naturally come about of its own accord sooner or later, and that his mission is not to hasten the moment, but to consolidate the work of 1866,' &c., &c. On all sides it is asked if there is no means of re-establishing confidence between France and Prussia—no means of calming the public mind in Europe, and putting an end to this afflicting stagnation in business. An interview of the Emperor with King William ~~would~~ be considered by many people as the most efficacious means of attaining these results. It was spoken of at Varzin, and the persons who surround Bism. seek to know his ideas on the possibility of such an interview. His intimate friend told me that he would be delighted if it could take place; but he does not disguise the fact that, in order to bring the Emperor to consent to it, it would be necessary that he (Bism.) and the King should engage themselves to give

guarantees plainly expressed (*in writing*, the banker told me) that they would undertake nothing in view of a union with the South.' In point of fact, M. B. asked me what I thought of the inclination of the Emperor—whether he would refuse or accept an interview with such guarantees.

"I spare you, my dear Piétri, other details of my conversation with the said banker, and I am going to tell you what I think of it. It appears to me incontestable that the idea of an interview is now being worked out. I consider it as the more certain as two Prussian journals have brought it forward lately, and that this same M. B., after having sworn to me that the preceding conversation was between ourselves, had, nevertheless, a precisely similar one with the Chargé d'Affaires of France (in the absence of M. Benedetti); secondly, I do not consider it so certain that Bism. told the banker to sound me in order to know my opinions. Nevertheless, it appears probable; but it might also be possible that M. B., desirous of playing a part, was not charged with any mission to me, but simply wished, for his own guidance, to get some information. However this may be, the fact of a desire for an interview remains the same.

"It is needless to describe to you my demeanour during the conversation just mentioned; for as I have already told you, I do not go beyond my rôle and my functions. I leave to such vain fools as Vipérin the care of meddling with what does not concern them, and wishing to transform themselves from military attachés into ambassadors. I therefore confined myself to evasive replies, and said that I was totally ignorant as to the Emperor's intentions.

"I should mention a circumstance which induces me to

believe that Bism. really believes in the possibility of an interview, and that is that M. Bl. told me he was going to Paris at the end of December, and asked me for a letter [of introduction] to you. He gave me to understand that he intended soliciting an interview with the Emperor. You see, then, that it is a question of one of two things—either Bism. desires to feel his ground, even in the interior of the Tuileries, before undertaking anything officially, or the Jew is led away by his passion for playing a political part.

“To conclude, I tell you all this to forewarn you, in case you should learn that efforts are being made to solicit of the Emperor an interview with the King. Perhaps you will also see in these facts a proof of the desire of Bism., whether sincere or not, to preserve peace and avoid all pretext for a conflict.

“The state of public opinion in Prussia is always the same : defiance or general animosity against France. Consider that as certain. Besides, you can easily understand the causes :—

“*First incontestable fact.*—Prussia aspires to unite all Germany. (Let us set aside the manner, which is a matter of indifference.)

“*Second incontestable fact.*—What obstacle does Prussia see to the realisation of this desire? France, and France only.

Natural consequence.—We are suspected by the whole Prussian nation : certain parties detest us, all mistrust us, and the least passionate consider us at least troublesome, and have for us the feeling which one man has for another who is constantly in his way. From that springs the general

state of opinion which I sum up in these words—animosity, or distrust, or irritation against France.

“Such are the fatal consequences of the events of '66. Nothing will be done whilst the general situation remains as it is, and the state of things which I describe will only go from bad to worse.

“But this is quite enough for the present, my dear friend. You have seen all sorts of things since you wrote to me : the revolution in Spain, the affair of Baudin, and what not. Write to me—it will afford me great pleasure.

“DE STOFFEL.

“P.S.—Kind regards to yourself and Oppermann.”



00108379

